A

HEALING QUESTION PROPOUNDED AND RESOLVED

Upon occasion of the late publique and seasonable Call to

HUMILIATION,

In order to love and union amongst the honest party, and with desire to apply Balsome to the Wound, before it become incurable.

BY

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A Healing Queſtion propounded and reſolved, upon occaſion of the late publique and ſeaſonable call to Humiliation, in order to love and union amongſt the honeſt party; and with a deſire to apply Balſome to the wound, before it become incurable.

THE Queſtion propounded is, What poſſibility doth yet remain (all things conſidered) of reconciling and uniting the diſſenting judgments of honeſt men within the three Nations, who ſtill pretend to agree in the ſpirit, juſtice, and reaſon of the ſame good cauſe; and what is the means to effect this?

Anſw. If it be taken for granted (as on the Magiſtrates part, from the ground inviting the people of *England* and *Wales* to a ſolemn day of faſting and Humiliation, may not be diſpaired of) that all the diſſenting parties agree ſtill in the ſpirit and reaſon of the ſame righteous cauſe, the reſolution ſeems very clear in the affirmative; arguing not onely for a poſſibility, but a great probability hereof, nay a neceſſity daily approaching neerer and neerer, to compel it, if any or all of the diſſenting parties intend or deſire to be ſafe from the danger of the common enemy, who is not out of work, though at preſent much out of ſight and obſervation.

The grounds of this are briefly theſe: Firſt, the cauſe hath ſtill the ſame goodneſs in it as ever: and is or ought to be as much in the hearts of al good people that have adheared to it: It is not leſs to be valued now, then when neither blood nor treaſure were thought too dear

to carry it out and hold it up from ſinking: and hath the ſame Omnipotent God, whoſe great Name is concerned in it, as well as his peoples outward ſafety and welfare; Who knows alſo how to give a revival to it, when ſecondary inſtruments and viſible means fail, or prove deceitful.

Secondly, The Perſons concerned and engaged in this Cauſe, are ſtill the ſame as before; with the advantage of being more tried, more enured to danger and hardſhip, and more endeared to one another, by their various and great experiences, as well of their own hearts as their fellow Brethrens. Theſe are the ſame ſtill in heart, and deſire after the ſame thing, which is, that being freed out of the hands of their enemies, they may ſerve the Lord without fear, in holineſs and righteouſneſs all the daies of their life.

As they have had this great good finally in their aims (if Declarations to men, and Appeals to God ſignifie any thing) ſo, as a requiſite to attain this, they did with great cheerfulnes & unanimity draw out themſelves to the utmoſt, in the maintenance of a war, when all other means, firſt eſſayed proved ineffectual. In the management of this war, it pleaſed God (the righteous Judge, who was appealed to in the controverſie) ſo to bleſs the Council and Forces of the perſons concerned and engaged in this cauſe, as in the end to make them abſolute and Compleat Conquerors over their common enemy. And by this means they had added unto the natural right which was in them before (and ſo declared by their Repreſentatives in Parliament aſſembled) the right of Conqueſt for the ſtrengthning of their juſt claim to be governed by National Councils, and ſucceſſive repreſentatives of their own election and ſetting up. This they once thought they had been in poſſeſſion of, when it was ratified, as it were, in the blood of the laſt King: But of late a great interruption having happened unto them in their former expectations, and inſtead thereof,

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ſomething riſing up that ſeems rather accommodated to the private and ſelfiſh intereſt of a particular part (in compariſon) then truly adequate to the common good and concern of the whole Body engaged in this Cauſe: Hence it is that this compacted body is now falling aſſunder into many diſſenting parts (a thing not unforeſeen, nor unhoped for by the common Enemy all-along as their laſt relief) and if theſe breaches be not timely healed, and the offences (before they take too deep root) removed, they will certainly work more to the advantage of the common Enemy, then any of their own unwearied endeavours, and dangerous contrivances in forreign parts put all together.

A ſerious diſcuſſion, and ſober enlarging upon theſe grounds, will quickly give an inſight into the ſtate of the Queſtion, and naturally tend to a plain and familiar reſolution thereof.

That which is firſt to be opened is the nature and goodneſs of the Cauſe; which had it not carried in it its own evidence, would ſcarce have found ſo many of the people of God adherers to it, within the three Nations, contributing either their counſels, their purſes, their bodily pains, or their affections and prayers, as a combined ſtrength, without which, the military force alone would have been little available to ſubdue the common Enemy, and reſtore to this whole body their juſt natural Rights in civil things, and true freedom in matters of conſcience.

The two laſt mentioned particulars, rightly ſtated, will evidence ſufficiently the nature and goodneſs of this Cauſe.

For the firſt of theſe, that is to ſay, the Naturall right, which the whole party of Honeſt men adhearing to this Cauſe, are by ſucceſs of their Armes reſtored unto, fortified in, and may claim as their undeniable priviledge, that righteouſly cannot be taken from them, nor they

they debarred from bringing into exerciſe, it lies in this.

They are to have and enjoy the freedom (by way of dutiful compliance and condiſcention from all the parts and members of this ſociety) to ſet up meet perſons in the place of Supreme Judicature and Authority amongſt them; whereby they may have the uſe & benefit of the choiſeſt light and wiſdom of the Nation, that they are capable to call forth, for the Rule and Government under which they will live; and through the orderly exerciſe of ſuch meaſure of wiſdom and counſel as the Lord in this way ſhall pleaſe to give unto them, to ſhape and form all ſubordinate actings and adminiſtrations of Rule and Government, ſo as ſhall beſt anſwere the publique welfare and ſafety of the whole.

This, in ſubſtance, is the right and freedom contained in the nature and goodneſſe of the Cauſe, wherein the honeſt party have been engaged: For in this, all the particulars of our civil right and freedom are comprehended, conſerved in, and derived from their proper root; in which whilſt they grow, they will ever thrive, flouriſh, and increaſe: whereas on the contrary, if there be never ſo many fair branches of liberty planted on the root of a private and ſelfiſh intereſt, they will not long proſper, but muſt within a little time wither and degenerate into the nature of that whereinto they are planted: And hence indeed ſprung the evill of that Government which roſe in and with the Norman conqueſt.

The root and bottom upon which it ſtood, was not publique intereſt, but the private luſt and will of the Conquerour, who by force of armes did at firſt detain the right and freedom which was, and is, due to the whole body of the people: for whoſe ſafety and good, government it ſelf is ordained by God, not for the particular

ticular benefit of the Rulers, as a distinct and private interest of their own; which yet, for the most part, is not onely preferred before the common good, but upheld in opposition thereunto. And as at first the Conqueror did, by violence and force, deny this freedom to the people, which was their natural right and priviledge, so he, and his Successors all along, lay as bars & impediments to the true National interest, and publique good, in the very national Councils and Assemblies themselves; which were constituted in such a manner, as most served for the upholding of the private interest of their Families. And this being challenged by them as their Prerogative, was found by the people assembled in Parliament, most unrighteous, burdensome, and destructive to their liberty. And when they once preceived that by this Engine all their just rights were like to be destroyed, especially (being backed, as it was, with the power of the Militia, which the late King, for that purpose, had assumed into his hands, and would not, upon the peoples application to him in Parliament part with into the hands of that great Council, whow here best to be intrusted with the Nations safety:) this was the ground of the quarrel, upon a civil account between the King and his party, and the whole body of adherents to the cause of the peoples true liberty; whereof this short touch hath been given, and shall suffice for the opening of the first branch of this clause.

The second branch which remains briefly to be handled, is that which also upon the grounds of naturall right is to be laid claime unto; but distinguishes it self from the former, as it respects a more heavenly and excellent object, wherein the freedom is to be exercised and enjoined, that is to say, matters of Religion, or that concern the service and worship of God.

Unto this freedom the Nations of the World have right and title, by the purchase of Christs blood who by

by vertue of his death and resurrection is become the sole Lord and Ruler in and over the conscience; for to this end Christ died, rose and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and of the living; and that every one might give an account of himself, in all matters of Gods worship, unto God and Christ alone, as their own Master, unto whom they stand or fall in judgement, and are not in these things to be oppressed, or brought before the Judgement-seats of men. For why shouldest thou set at naught thy Brother in matters of his Faith and conscience, and herein intrude into the proper office of Christ since we are all to stand at the Judgement-seat of Christ, whether Governors or governed, and by his dicision only are capable of being declared with certainty, to be in the right or in the wrong?

By vertue then of this Supream Law, sealed and confirmed in the blood of Christ unto all men (whose souls he challenges a propriety in, to bring under his inward rule in the service and worship of God) it is that all Magistrates are to feare and forbear intermedling with, giving rule or imposing in those matters. They are to content themselves with what is plain in their commission, as ordained of God to be his Minister unto men for good, whilest they approve themselves the doers of that which is good in the sight of men, and whereof earthly and worldly Judicatures are capable to make a clear and perfect judgement: In which case the Magistrate is to be for praise and protection to them. In like manner he is to be a Minister of terrour and revenge to those that doe evil in matters of outward practice, converse, and dealings in the things of this life between man and man, for the cause whereof the judicatures of men are appointed and set up. But to exceed these limits, as it is not safe nor warrantable for the Magistrate (in that he who is higher then the highest, regards, and will shew himselfe displeased at it) so neither

ther is it good for the people, who hereby are nouriſhed up in a biting, devouring, wrathful ſpirit one againſt another, and are found tranſgreſſors of that Royal law which forbids us to doe that unto another, which we would not have them do unto us, were we in their condition.

This freedome then is of high concern to be had and enjoy, as well for the Magiſtrates ſake, as for the peoples common good; and it conſiſts, as hath been ſaid, in the Magiſtrates forbearing to put forth the power of rule and coercion in things that God hath exempted out of his Commiſſion. So that all care requiſite for the peoples obtaining this, may be exerciſed with great eaſe, if it be taken in its proper ſeaſon, and that this reiſtraint be laid upon the Supreame Power before it be erected, as a fundamental Conſtitution among others, upon which the free conſent of the people is given, to have the perſons brought into the exerciſe of Supreme Authority over them, and on their behalf; and if beſides, as a further confirmation hereunto, it be acknowledged the voluntary act of the ruling Power, when once brought into a capacity of acting Legiſlatively, that herein they are bound up, and judge it their duty ſo to be (both in reference to God the Inſtitor of Magiſtracy, and in reference to the whole Body by whom they are entruſted) this great bleſſing will hereby be ſo well provided for, that we ſhall have no cauſe to fear, as it may be ordered.

By this means a great part of the outward exercíſe of Antichriſtian Tyranny and bondage will be plucked up by the very roots; which till ſome ſuch courſe be held in it, will be alwayes apt to renew and ſprout out afreſh, under ſome new forme or refined appearances, as by late years experience we have been taught. For, ſince the fall of the Biſhops and perſecuting Presbyteries the ſame ſpirit is apt to ariſe in the next ſort of Cler-

gy, that can get the ear of the Magiſtrate, and pretend to the keeping and ruling the conſcience of the Governours. Although this ſpirit and practice hath been all along decried by the faithful adherents to this Cauſe, as a moſt ſore oppreſſion, and inſufferable yoke of bondage, moſt unrighteouſly kept up over the conſciences of the people; and therefore judged by them moſt needful to be taken out of the way. And in this matter the preſent Governours have been willing very eminently to give their Teſtimony, in their publique Declarations, however in practice there is much of grievance yet found among us, though more in probability, from the officiouſneſſe of ſubordinate Miniſters, then any clear purpoſe or deſigne of the chief in power.

Having thus ſhewed what the true freedom is, in both the branches of it, that ſhines forth in the righteous Cauſe, wherein the good people of theſe Nations have ſo deeply engaged: It will not be improper in the next place to conſider two particulars more that give ſtill further light into the matter in queſtion; as firſt, The qualifications of the perſons that have adhered to this Cauſe. Secondly, the capacity wherein they have been found from time to time carrying it on.

As to their Qualification, they have in the general, diſtinguiſhed themſelves and been made known, by a forwardneſs to aſſiſt and own the publique welfare and good of the Nation, for the attaining and preſerving the juſt rights and liberties thereof, aſſerted and witneſſed unto in the true ſtating of this Cauſe, according to the two branches thereof already ſpoken to. They have ſhewed themſelves upon all occaſions, deſirers and lovers of true freedome, either in civils or in ſpirituals, or in both. To expreſs their value thereof and faithfulneſs to the ſame, they have largely contributed, in one kind or other what was proper to each in his place to doe; which actions of theirs proceeding from hearts ſincerely

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affected to the cauſe, created in them a right to be of an Incorporation and Society by themſelves, under the name of the good Party; having been from the beginning unto this day publiquely and commonly ſo acknowledged by way of diſtinction from all Neuters, cloſe and open Enemies, and deceitful Friends or Apoſtates. Theſe, in order to the maintaining of this Cauſe, have ſtood by the Army, in defence, and ſupport thereof, againſt all oppoſition whatever, as thoſe that, by the growing light of theſe times, have been taught and led forth, in their experiences, to look above and beyond the letter, forme, and outward circumſtances of government, into the inward reaſon and ſpirit thereof, herein only to fix and terminate, to the leaving behind all empty ſhadows, that would obtrude themſelves in the place of true freedom.

Secondly, as to the capacity wherein theſe perſons, thus qualified, have acted, it hath been very variable, and ſubject to great changes: ſometimes in one form, and ſometimes in another, and very ſeldome, if ever at all, ſo exactly, and in all points conſonant to the rule of former Laws and Conſtitutions of Government, as to be clearly and fully juſtified by them, any longer then the Law of Succeſſe and Conqueſt did uphold them who had the inward warrant of Juſtice and Righteouſneſſe to encourage them in ſuch their actings.

The utmoſt and laſt reſerve therefore which they have had, in caſe all other failed, hath been their military capacity, not only ſtrictly taken for the ſtanding Army, but in the largeſt ſenſe, wherein the whole party may (with the Army, and under that military conſtitution and conduct, which by the providence of God they ſhall then be found in) aſſociate themſelves in the beſt order they can, for the common defence and ſafety of the whole. As not ignorant, that when once em-

bodied in this their Military posture, in such manner as by common consent shall be found requisite for the safety of the body, they are most irresistible, absolute, and comprehensive in their power; having that wherein the substance of all Government is contained, and under the protection whereof, and safety that may be maintained thereby, they can contrive and determine, in what manner this irresistable, absolute, and boundless power, unto which they are now arrived in this their Military capacity shall have just and due limits set unto it, and be drawn out in a meet and orderly way of exercise, for the Commonwealth and safety of the whole Body, under the rule and oversight of a Supreame Judicature; unto the wisdome of whose Laws and order, the sword is to become most entirely subject and subservient: And this without the least cause of jealousie or unsafety, either to the standing Army, or any member thereof, or unto the good people adhering to this Cause, or any one of them; since the interest of both, by this mutual action of either, will be so combined together in one (even in that wherein before they were distinct) that all just cause of difference, fear, animosity, emulation, jealousie, or the like, will be wholly abolished and removed.

For when once the whole Body of the good people find that the Military interest and capacity is their own, and that into which necessity at the last may bring the whole Party (whereof of right a place is to be reserved for them) and that herein they are so far from being in subjection or slavery, that in this posture they are most properly soveraign, and possesse their right of natural soveraignty, they will presently see a necessity of continuing everone with their Army raised and maintained by them, for the promoting this cause against the common Enemy; who in his next attempt will put for all with greater desperateness and rage then ever.

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Again, when once the ſtanding Army and their Governours ſhall alſo find, that by ſetting and keeping up themſelves in a divided intereſt from the reſt of the Body of Honeſt men, they withhold from themſelves theſe contributions in all voluntary and cheerful aſſiſtances, by the affections and prayers, by the perſons and purſues of the good party, in the weakning themſelves thereby, as to any vigorous ſupport from them, in the times of moſt imminent danger (whereof the late King had an experience, that will not ſuddenly be out of memory, when he undertook the war in the beginning of theſe troubles againſt the Scots, and was, in a manner, therein deſerted by all the good party in *England*) they will then find (if they ſtay not till it be too late) they by eſpouſing the intereſts of the people, in ſubmitting themſelves with their fellow adherents to the Cauſe, under the rule and authority of their own Supream Judicature, they loſe not their Power or Soveraignity; but becoming one Civil or Politique Incorporation with the whole party of honeſt men, they doe therein keep the Soveraignity, as originally ſeated in themſelves, and part with it only but as by deputation and repreſentation of themſelves, when it is brought into an orderly way of exerciſe, by being put into the hands of perſons choſen and entruſted by themſelves to that purpoſe.

By this mutual and happy tranſition which may be made between the party of Honeſt men in the Three Nations virtually in Arms, and thoſe actually ſo now in power at the Head of the Army, how ſuddenly would the union of the whole Body be conſolidated, and made ſo firm as it will not need to fear all the deſigns and attempts of the common Enemy; eſpecially if herein they unite themſelves in the firſt place to the Lord, as willing to follow his providence, and obſerve his will in the way and manner of bringing this to paſſe. In-

which case we shall not need to fear what all the gates of hell are able to do in opposition thereunto.

It is not then the standing and being of the present Army and Military forces in the th ee Nations, that is lyable to exception of offence; from any dissenting judgments at this time amongst the honest well affected party. In and with them, under God, stand the welfare and outward safety of the whole body; and to be enemies to them or wish them hurt, were to doe it to themselves, and by trying such conclusions to play the game o' the common enemy, to the utter ruine and destruction, not onely of the true freedom aimed at and contended for in the late wars, but of the very persons themselves that have been in any sort active or eminent promoters thereof.

The Army considered as it is in the hands of an honest and wise General, and sober faithful Officers, embodied with the rest of the party of Honest men; and espousing still the same cause, and acting in their primitive simplicity, humility, and trust, in reference to the welfare and safety of the whole body, is the only justifyable and most advantagious posture and capacity that the good party at present can find themselves in, in order to the obtaining that true freedom they have fought for, and possessing of it in the establishment thereof upon the true Basis and foundation, as hath been shewed of right Government.

That therein the offence lies, and which causes such great thoughts of heart amongst the honest party (if it may be freely expressed, as sure it may, when the Magistrate himself professes he doth but desire and wait for conviction therein) is in short this.

That when the right and priviledge is returned, nay is restored by Conquest unto the whole Body (that forfeited not their interest therein) of freely disposing themselves in such a constitution of righteous Government

vernment, as may beſt anſwer the end held forth in this Cauſe; that nevertheleſs, either through delay they ſhould be withheld as they are, or through deſign they ſhould come at laſt to be utterly denied the exerciſe of this their right, upon pretence that they are not in capacity as yet to uſe it; which indeed hath ſome truth in it, if thoſe that are now in power, and have the command of the Arms, do not prepare all things requiſite thereunto, as they may, and like faithful Guardians to the Commonwealth, admitted to be in its nonage, they ought.

But if the bringing of true freedome into exerciſe amongſt men, yea, ſo refined a party of men, be impoſſible; Why hath this been concealed all this while? and why was it not thought on before ſo much blood was ſpilt, and treaſure ſpent? ſurely, ſuch a thing as this was judged real and practicable, not imaginary and notional.

Beſides, Why may it not ſuffice to have been thus long delayed and withheld from the whole body, at leaſt as to its being brought by them into exerciſe now at laſt? ſurely the longer it is withheld, the ſtronger jealouſies do increaſe; that it is intended to be aſſumed and ingroſſed by a part onely, to the leaving the reſt of the body (who in all reaſon and juſtice ought to be equally participants with the other in the right and benefit of the Conqueſt, for as much as the war was managed at the expence and for the ſafety of the whole) in a condition almoſt as much expoſed, and ſubject to be impoſed upon, as if they had been enemies and conquered, not in any ſenſe Conquerors.

If ever ſuch an unrighteous, unkinde and deceitful dealing with brethren ſhould happen, although it might continue above the reach of queſtion from humane judicature, yet can we think it poſſible it ſhould

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eſcape and go unpuniſhed by the immediate hand of the Righteous Judge of the whole World, when he ariſeth out of his place to do right to the oppreſſed?

Nay, If in ſtead of favouring and promoting the peoples common good and welfare, ſelf-intereſt and private gain ſhould evidently appear to be the things we have aimed at all along; if thoſe very Tyrannical Principles and Antichriſtian reliques, which God by us hath puniſhed in our Predeceſſors, ſhould again revive, ſpring up a freſh, and ſhew themſelves lodged alſo and retained in our boſomes; rendring us of the number of thoſe that have forgot they were purged from their old ſins, and declaring us to be ſuch as to pleaſe a covetous mind, do withhold from deſtruction that which God hath deſigned to the curſe of his vengeance: If all thoſe great advantages of ſerving the Lords will and deſign in procuring and advancing his peoples true welfare and outward ſafety, which (as the fruit of his bleſſing upon our Armies) have ſo miraculouſly fallen into our hands ſhall at laſt be wreſted and miſ-improved to the enriching and greatning of our ſelves: If theſe things ſhould ever be found amongſt us (which the Lord in mercy forbid) ſhall we need to look any further for the accurſed thing? will not our Conſciences ſhew us from the light of the Word and Spirit of God, how neer a conformity theſe actions would hold therewith? which ſin, *Joſh.* 7 became a curſe to the Camp, and withheld the Lord from going any more amongſt them, or going out with their forces. And did the action of *Achan* import any more then theſe two things. Firſt, he ſaved and kept from deſtruction the goodly Babyloniſh garment, which was devoted by God thereunto. Secondly, he brought not in the fruit and gain of the Conqueſt into the Lords Treaſure, but covetouſly went about to convert it to his own

own proper uſe. To do this is to take of the accurſed thing, which *Joſh.* 7. all *Iſrael* was ſaid to do, in the ſin of *Achan*, and to have ſtollen and diſſembled likewiſe, and to put it amongſt their own ſtuffe. This cauſed the anger of the Lord to kindle againſt *Iſrael*, and made them unable to ſtand before their enemies, but their hearts melted as water. And thus far the Lord is concerned, if ſuch an evil as this ſhall lie hid in the midſt of us. But to return to what we were upon before.

The matter which is in queſtion among the diſſenting parts of the whole body of honeſt men, is not ſo trivial and of ſuch ſmall conſequence, as ſome would make it. 'Tis in effect, the main and whole of the Cauſe; without which all the freedome which the people have or can have, is in compariſon but ſhadow and in name onely, and therefore can never give that peace and ſatisfaction to the Body, which is requiſite unto a durable & ſolid ſettlement. This is that which makes all ſound & ſafe at the root, and gives the right ballance neceſſary to be held up between ſoveraignty and ſubjection, in the exerciſe of all righteous Government; applying the uſe of the ſword to the promoting and upholding the publick ſafety and welfare of the whole body, in preference and if need be in oppoſition unto any of the parts; whilſt yet by its equal and impartiall adminiſtration in reference unto each, it doth withall maintaine the whole Body in a moſt delightfull harmony, welfare and correſpondency. The ſword never can, nor is it to be expected ever will do this, while the ſoveraignty is admitted and placed any where elſe, than in the whole Body of the people that have adhered to the cauſe, and by them be derived unto their ſucceſive Repreſentatives, as the moſt equal and impartial Judicature for the effecting hereof.

Where there is then a righteous and good conſtitution of Government, there is firſt an orderly union of many underſtandings together, as the publick and common Supream Judicature or viſible Soveraignty, ſet in a way of free and orderly exerciſe, for the directing and applying the uſe of the ruling power or the ſword, to promote the intereſt and common welfare of the whole, without any diſturbance or annoyance, from within or from without. And then ſecondly, there is a like union and readineſſe of will in all the Individuals, in their private capacities, to execute and obey (by all the power requiſite, and that they are able to put forth) thoſe ſoveraign Laws and Orders iſſued out by their own Deputies and Truſtees.

A Supream Judicature thus made the Repreſentative of the whole, is that which we ſay, will moſt naturally care, and moſt equally provide for the Common good and ſafety. Though by this it is not denied, but that the Supream power, when by free conſent 'tis placed in a ſingle perſon or in ſome few perſons, may be capable alſo to adminiſter righteous Government; at leaſt the Body that gives this liberty, when they need not, are to thank themſelves if it prove otherwiſe. But when this free and naturall acceſs unto Government, is interrupted and declined, ſo as a liberty is taken by any particular member, or number of them, that are to be reputed but a part in compariſon of the whole, to aſſume and engroſſe the office of ſoveraign rule and power, and to impoſe themſelves as the competent publick Judge of the ſafety, and good of the whole, without their free and due conſent; and to lay claim unto this, as thoſe that find themſelves poſſeſſed of the ſword (and that ſo advantagiouſly, as it cannot be recovered again out of their hands, without more apparent danger and damage to the whole Body, than ſuch attempts are

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worth) this is that Anarchy that is the firſt riſe and ſtep to Tyranny; and laies grounds of manifeſt confuſion and diſorder, expoſing the ruling power to the next hand that on the next opportunity can lay hold on the ſword; and ſo, by a kind of neceſſity, introduces the higheſt impoſition and bondage upon the whole Body, in compelling all the parts though never ſo much againſt the true publick intereſt, to ſerve and obey, as their Soveraign rule and ſupream Authority, the Arbitrary will and judgement of thoſe that bring themſelves into rule by the power of the ſword, in the right onely of a part that ſets up it ſelf in preference before, or at leaſt in competition with the welfare of the whole.

And if this, which is ſo eſſentiall to the well being and right conſtitution of Government, were once obtained, the diſputes about the form would not prove ſo difficult, nor find ſuch oppoſition, as to keeping the bone of contention and diſ-union, with much danger to the whole. For if as the foundation of all, the ſoveraignty be acknowledged to recide originally in the whole body of adherents to this Cauſe (whoſe naturall and inherent right thereunto is of a far ancienter date than what is obtained by ſucceſſe of their arms, and ſo cannot be abrogated even by Conqueſt it ſelf if that were the caſe) and then if in conſequence hereof, a ſupream Judicature be ſet up and orderly conſtitued, as naturally ariſing and reſulting from the free choice and conſent of the whole Body taken out from among themſelves, as fleſh of their fleſh, and bone of their bone, of the ſame publick ſpirit and nature with themſelves, and the main be by this means ſecured, what could be propounded afterwards, as to the form of adminiſtration that would much ſtick?

Would a ſtanding Council of State ſetled for life, in reference to the ſafety of the Common-wealth, & for the maintaining intercourſe and commerce with Forreign States, under the inſpection and overſight of the ſupream Judicature, but of the ſame fundamental conſtitution with themſelves, would this be diſliked? admitting their orders were binding, in the intervals of Supream National Aſſemblies, ſo far only as conſonant to the ſetled Laws of the Common-wealth, the vacancy of any of which by death or otherwiſe, might be ſupplied by the vote of the major part of themſelves. Nay, would there be any juſt exception to be taken, if (beſides both theſe) it ſhould be agreed (as another part of the fundamental conſtitution of the Government) to place that branch of Soveraignty which chiefly reſpects the execution of Laws, in a diſtinct Office from that of the Legiſlative power (and yet ſubordinate to them and to the Laws) capable to be intruſted into the hands of one ſingle perſon, if need require, or in a greater number, as the Legiſlative power ſhould think fit; and for the greater ſtrength and honour unto this Office, that the execution of all Laws and Orders (that are binding) may go forth in his, or their name; and all diſobedience thereunto, or contempt thereof, be taken as done to the peoples Soveraignty, whereof he or they bear the Image or Repreſentation, ſubordinate to the Legiſlative power and at their will to be kept up and continued in the hands of a ſingle perſon or more, as the experience of the future good or evil of it ſhall require.

Would ſuch an Office as this, thus ſtated, carry in it any inconſiſtency with a free State? Nay, if it be well conſidered, would it not rather be found of excellent uſe to the well-being of Magiſtracy, founded upon this righteous bottom, that ſuch a Lieutenancy of the peoples ſoveraignty in theſe three nations, may alwayes

alwaies reſide in ſome one or more perſon, in whoſe adminiſtration, that which is reward and puniſhment may ſhine forth?

And if now it ſhall be objected, that (notwithſtanding all theſe Cautions) ſhould once this Soveraignty be acknowledged to be in the diffuſed body of the people (though the adherents to this cauſe, not onely as their natural, but as their acquired right by Conqueſt) they would ſuddainly put the uſe and exercise of the Legiſlative power into ſuch hands, as would, through their ill qualifiedneſſe to the work, ſpoil all by male-adminiſtration thereof, and hereby looſe the cauſe inſtead of upholding and maintaining it.

The anſwer unto this is, Firſt, that God by his providence hath eaſed our minds much in this ſolicitude, by the courſe he hath already taken to fit and prepare a choice and ſelected number, of the people unto this work, that are tryed and refined by their inward and outward experiences in this great quarrel, and the many changes they have paſſed through: in reſpect whereof well qualified perſons are to be found, if due care be taken in the choice of them. And if herein the People of the Lord ſhall be waiting upon him for his guidance and preſence with them, we may have grounds & hope that God (whoſe name hath all along been called upon in the maintaining of this cauſe) will pour out ſo abundantly of his ſpirit upon his people attending on him in righteous wayes, and will alſo ſo move their hearts to chooſe perſons bearing his image in the Magiſtracy, that a more glorious product may ſpring up out of this, than at firſt we can expect, to the ſetting up of the Lord himſelf, as chief Judge and Lawgiver amongſt us. And unto this the wiſdome and honeſty of the perſons now in power may have an opportunity eminently to come into diſcovery: For in this caſe, and upon the grounds already

dy layd, the very perſons now in power are they unto whoſe lot it would fall to ſet about this preparatory work; and by their orders and directions to diſpoſe the whole Body and bring them into the meeteſt capacity to effect the ſame. The moſt natural way for which would ſeem to be by a Generall Councill, or convention of faithfull, honeſt, and diſcerning men, choſen for that purpoſe by the free conſent of the whole body of adherents to this Cauſe in the ſeveral parts of the Nations, and obſerving the time and place of meeting appointed to them (with other circumſtances concerning their election) by order from the preſent ruling Power, but conſidered as Generall of the Army.

Which Convention is not properly to exerciſe the Legiſlative power, but only to debate freely, and agree upon the particulars, that by way of Fundamentall Conſtitutions ſhall be la'd and inviolably obſerved, as the conditions upon which the whole body ſo repreſented, doth conſent to caſt it ſelf into a Civill and politick Incorporation, and under the viſible form and adminiſtration of Government therein declared, and to be by each individuall member of the Body ſubſcribed in teſtimony of his or their particular conſent given thereunto. Which conditions ſo agreed (& amongſt them an Act of Oblivion for One) will be without danger of being broken or departed from; conſidering of what it is they are the conditions, and the nature of the Convention wherein they are made; which is of the people repreſented in their higheſt ſtate of Soveraignty, as they have the ſword in their hands unſubjected unto the Rules of Civill Government, but what themſelves orderly aſſembled for that purpoſe, do think fit to make. And the ſword upon theſe conditions ſubjecting it ſelf to the ſuprem Judicature, thus to be ſet up; how ſuddainly might

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harmony, righteouſneſſe, love, peace, and ſafety unto the whole body follow hereupon, as the happy fruit of ſuch a ſettlement, if the Lord have any delight to be amongſt us.

And this once put in a way, and declared for by the General and Army, as that which they are clearly convinced in the ſight of God, is their duty to bring about, and which they engage accordingly to ſee done) how firmly and freely would this oblige the hearts and perſons, the counſels and purſes, the affections and prayers, with all that is in the power of this whole party to do, in way of aſſiſtance and ſtrengthning the hands of thoſe now in power, whatever ſtraits and difficulties they may meet with in the maintenance of the publick ſafety and peace?

This then being the ſtate of our preſent affairs and differences, let it be acknowledged on all hands, and let all be convinced that are concerned, that there is not onely a poſſibility but a probability, yea a compelling neceſſity of a firm union in this great Body, the ſetting of which in joynt and tune again, by a ſpirit of meekneſs and fear of the Lord, is the work of the preſent day, and will prove the onely remedy under God to uphold and carry on this bleſſed cauſe and work of the Lord in the three Nations, that is already come thus far onwards in its progreſſe to its deſired and expected end, of bringing in Chriſt, the Deſire of all Nations, as the chief Ruler amongſt us.

Now unto this re-uniting work let there be a readineſs in all the diſſenting parts from the higheſt to the loweſt, by chearfully coming forth to one another in a ſpirit of ſelf-denial and love, inſtead of warre and wrath, and to caſt down themſelves before the Lord, who is the father of all their ſpirits in ſelf-abaſement and humiliation, for the mutual fierceneſs they have bin

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in for ſometime paſt, one unto another, and great provocation unto God, and reproach unto his moſt glorious name, who expected to have been ſerved by them with reverence and godly fear for our God is a conſuming fire.

And as an inducement unto this, Let us aſſure our ſelves, the means of effecting it will not prove ſo difficult as other things that have been brought about in the late war, if the minds and ſpirits of all concerned were once well and duely prepared hereunto, by a kindly work of ſelf-denial and ſelf-abaſement, ſet home by the ſpirit of the Lord upon their conſciences, which if he pleaſe, he may do we know not how ſoon. Nay we ſhall behold with a diſcerning eye the inſide of that work which God hath been doing amongſt us the three years laſt paſt, it would ſeem chiefly to have been his aim, to bring his people into ſuch a frame as this is. For in this tract of time, there hath been (as we may ſay) a great ſilence in Heaven, as if God were pleaſed to ſtand ſtill and be a looker on, to ſee what his People would be in their later end, and what work they would make of it, if left to their own wiſdome and Politick contrivances. And as God hath had the ſilent part, ſo men, and that good men too, have had the active and buſie part, and have like themſelves made a great ſound and noiſe, like the ſhout of a King in a mighty Hoaſt; which whileſt it hath been a ſound onely and no more, hath not done much hurt as yet; but the fear and jealouſie thereby cauſed, hath put the whole Body out of frame, and made them apt to fall into great confuſions and diſorder.

And if there be thus ariſen a general diſſent and diſagreement of parts (which is not, nor ought to be accounted the leſs conſiderable, becauſe it lies hid and kept in under a patient ſilence) why ſhould there not

not be as general a confeſſion and acknowledgment of what each may find themſelves overtaken in, and cannot but judge themſelves faulty for? This kind of vent being much better than to have it break out in flames of a forward and untimely wrathful ſpirit, which never works the righteouſneſs of God. Eſpecially ſince what hath been done amongſt us, may propably have been more the effect of temptation than the product of any malicious deſign; and this ſort of temptation is very common and incident to men in power (how good ſoever they may be) to be overtaken in, and thereupon do ſudden unadviſed actions, which the Lord pardons & over rules for the beſt: evidently making appear that it is the work of the weak & fleſhly part, which his own people carry about with them too much unſubdued. And therefore the Lord thinks fit by this means, to ſhew them the need of being beholding to their ſpiritual part, to reſtore them again, and bring them into their right temper and healthful conſtitution.

And thus whilſt each diſſenting part is aggravating upon it ſelf faultineſs and blame, and none excuſing, but all confeſſing they deſerve, in one ſort or other, reproof if not before men, yet in Gods ſight: Who knows how ſoon it may pleaſe God to come into this broken, contrite, and ſelf-denying frame of Spirit in the good People within the three Nations, and own them thus truly humbled and abaſed, for his Temple and the place of his habitation and reſt, wherein he ſhall abide for ever? of whom it may be ſaid God is in the midſt of her, ſhe ſhall not be moved; God ſhall help her and that right early; or with his morning appearance. At which time he will ſit ſilent no longer, but Heaven will ſpeak again, and become active and powerful in the ſpirits and hearts of Honeſt men, and in the works

of his providences, when either they go out to fight by Sea or by Land, or remain in counsel and debates at home for the publick Weal, and again hear the prayers of his People, and visibly own them as a flock of holy men, as *Jerusalem* in her solemn Feasts. *I will yet for this be enquired of by the House of Israel, saith the Lord, to do it for them:* And then they shall know that I the Lord their God am with them, and that they are my People, and that ye my flock the flock of my pasture, are men that have shewed your selves weak sinful men, and I am your God that have declared my self an all-wise and powerful God, saith the Lord God.

POST-SCRIPT.

READER,

UPon the perusal of this Discourse thou will quickly perceive that these two things are principally aimed at in it by the Author. First to answer in some measure that which is called for by those in power, when they publickly profess they desire nothing more than conviction, and to find out the hidden provocations which either have or yet may bring forth the Lord against these Nations, in the way which at present they are in.

Secondly, To remove out of the minds and spirits of the honest Party, that still agree in the reason and justice of the good old Cause, all things of a private Nature and selfish Concern (the tendency whereof serves but to foment and strengthen wrath and divisions amongst

mongſt them) and in place thereof to ſet before them that common and publick intereſt, which (if with ſincerity imbraced) may be the means of not only procuring a firm union amonſt them, but alſo of conſerving them herein.

In order to this, the Author hath not been willing ſo much to declare his own Opinion, or deliver any poſitive Concluſions, as to diſcuſſe the buſineſs by way of queſtion and anſwer, and thereby make as near a conjecture as he can, of that, wherein the ſeveral diſſenting parts may with better ſatisfaction meet together, and agree upon a ſafe and righteous bottome, than to remain at the diſtance they do, to the apparent advantage of the common Enemy, the approaching ruine of themſelves, and needleſs hazard (if not loſs) of the Cauſe they have been ſo deeply engaged in. Eſpecially conſidering, that when once they ſhall be found beginning to come forth to one another, in ſuch a condeſcending ſelf denying ſpirit, cleanſed from the ſtain of hypocriſie and deceit, they may be well aſſured that light will ſpring up amongſt them more and more unto a perfect day; and then thoſe things which at preſent we have next in view, will prove as ſhadows ready to flee away before the morning brightneſs of Chriſts Heavenly Appearance and ſecond Coming; through which they will be heightned and improved to their full maturity, to the bringing in that Kingdome of his that ſhall never be moved.

And becauſe an Eſſay hath been already made, in a private way to obtain the firſt thing, that is ſay, Conviction, which chiefly is in the hand of the Lord to give; the ſame obligation lies upon the Author, with reſpect to the ſecond, for the expoſing of it as now it is unto Publick view, and therein leaving it alſo with the Lord, for his bleſſing thereunto.

The

The Stationers Advertiſement to the READER, upon his Reprinting this Diſcourſe at this time.

READER,

THe former Impreſſions of this Healing Queſtion *being all ſold off, and it being yet deſired after by divers, I have Reprinted it; But for thy better Uunderſtanding of it, be pleaſed to bear in mind, that it was firſt written and Printed, upon occaſion given, by the late* General Cromwel, *after he had taken to himſelf the Supream Power, and by a Declaration for a Solemn Faſt, upon* March 13. 1655. *invited the good People of* England *and* Wales, *to wait upon the Lord for Light and Conviction, profeſſing in the ſight of God and man, a moſt willing mind, readily to receive, when convincingly offered by any; therefore ſome Circumſtantials of it, relateth to that Perſon and occaſion; but the main Subſtance of it, may be found very ſeaſonable, and of much uſe at this day: iis therefore offered to thy peruſal.*

T. B.

FINIS.

The PROCEEDS of the PROTECTOR

(ſo called)

and his COUNCILL againſt

Sir *HENRY VANE*, Knight.

A late Eminent MEMBER of the COUNCILL of STATE of the Common wealth of ENGLAND: As touching his Impriſonment in the Iſle *of* WIGHT.

Together with his Teſtimony delivered in writing to the ſaid Protector, by way of a peculiar *addreſſe* to himſelf, and faithfull advice of an old Friend and Acquaintance.

Faithfully Tranſcribed and Atteſted out of the Original Copy's,

And publiſhed by a reall Well-wiſher to *SION'S* Proſperity and *ENGLAND'S* Liberty.

25.

Prov. 29. 1. *He that being often* Reproved, *hardeneth his* Neck, *ſhall ſuddenly be* deſtroyed, *and that without remedy.*

Gal. 2. 18. *For if I build again the things that I have* deſtroyed, *I make my ſelf a* Tranſgreſſor.

Reader,

THou hast here a true Narrative of the whole proceedings against Sir Henry Vane Knight, and his Imprisonment in the Isle of Wight. Occasion being taken (as thou wilt find) from his writing and publishing a discourse Entituled, An Healing Question, &c. tending to the Composure and Uniting all honest mens hearts and spirits, who from the first beginning of all the Warr all along have been engaged in the Cause of true Freedome, against Oppression and Tyranny, unto which he was invited by the Declaration for a solemn Fast, set forth by those in power, the thirteenth day of March 1655. exciting the good people of England and Wales to wait upon the Lord for light and conviction, professing in the sight of God and man, a most willing mind readily to receive, when convincingly offered by any.

This being in short the true state of the Case, and falling providentially into my hands, out of duty to my Country, and respect to that worthy Patriot (who at this day so eminently suffers for the Cause of God, and true Freedome, and that from the hands of those he hath deserved better measure) I have exposed the whole to publique view, that thereby thou mayest be informed of the truth, and the Nation may know what is become of so considerable a Member, who may deservedly be a Pattern for all true English men to immitate, in this Apostatizing and back-sliding Age.

The Copy of the Summons for Sir Henry Vane *Knight his first appearance at White-hall.*

In pursuance of an Order of his Highnesse and the Councill, you are to attend the Councill on Thursday the 12. of *August* next, at 11. of the Clock in the fore-noon, Dated at *White-hall* this 29. *July* 1656.

Subscribed by

To Sir Henry Vane *Knight.* Henry Lawrence *President.*

A true Copy of Sir Henry Vane *his Answer sent to this Sommons.*

Sir,

LEast my silence might be misinterpreted upon the last Paper, I have received, subscribed (as I suppose) with your hand, appointing my attendance at *White hall* the 12. instant: I have held my self obliged to returne you this account, that my purpose is (God willing) to set forward from this place to my House in the *Strand*, the beginning of the next week, which is assoon as I can well expect to have a Coach to meet me half way, this very hot season for travail, and my own being in no condition to performe so long a journey upon so short a warning given to.

Belleaw the 4. of August 1656. *Your humble Servant* Hen. Vane.

To Henry Lawrence *Esquire, President of the Councill at* White hall.

Sir Henry Vane's *Letter to Mr.* Jessop *Clerk to the Councill at* White-hall *presently after his coming to* London.

Sir,

IT being declared by Parliament (as is very well known) that it is against the Laws and Liberties of *England*, that any of the people thereof should be commanded by the King (when there was one, to attend him at his pleasure) but such as are bound thereunto by speciall service (which others therefore are not.) It will I hope be permitted me without offence, to claim the same priviledge and liberty

[illegible]mes, and in the case of the Sommons sent me, wherein I find no cause for my appearance expressed but *meer will* and pleasure: Yet in vindication of the innocent, and peacable deportment I live in according to the Laws; I have not refused to be upon the place at my House here in the *Strand* ever since Thursday night last, as I made known unto you by this Bearer the next Morning. And as ever since I have been, so I am still ready to appear when I shall be sent for, untill the pressingnesse of my occasions (in reference to my Family concerns, which at this time by reason of my Fathers Debts are very great, and heavy upon me) shall require my attendance upon them in other places of the Nation. All which I held my self obliged to make known unto you in the relation you stand in, especially not having heard from you Yesterday, as I suppose I might. I am

Charring-Crosse House *Your Servant*
the 20. *August* 1656. H. V.

For Mr. Jessop, *Clerk to the Councill at* White-hall.

The first Order of the Councill concerning Sir Hen. Vane *here followeth.*

Thursday, the 21. *of August* 1656. *At the Councill at* White-hall.

Sir *Henry Vane* having this day appeared before the Councill, and they having taken consideration of a seditious book by him written and published, entituled a *Healing Question propounded and resolved &c.* the same tending to the disturbance of the present Government, and the peace of the Common-wealth, Ordered that if Sr. *Henry Vane* shall not give good security in five thousand pound bond by *Thursday* next to do nothing to the prejudice of the present Government, and the peace of the Common-wealth, he shall stand committed, and that Orders be drawn up accordingly.

W. Jessop Clerk of the Councill.

Sir Henry Vane *his Letter to Mr.* Jessop *upon the receipt of this Order of the Councill.*

Sir,

IT is a great quiet to my minde, and satisfaction to my conscience in the sight of *God* and *man*; to perceive at the first entrance into my

my ſufferings, that the *Witneſſe* owned by me, under the title of a *Healing Queſtion* (when I was at *White-hall* 21. preſent) which aſſerts the Principles, Spirit, and Juſtice of the Cauſe we have profeſſed and fought for in our late Warrs) is now thought fit by thoſe that are in power to have the name given to it of *ſeditious*, eſpecially conſidering that the Healing nature, and great tendency, that cleerly ſhineth forth thorow-out that diſcourſe (to the uniting the whole party of honeſt men in the true publique intereſt warranted by the Lawes of the Land, and in away of ſafety againſt common danger) doth with its own evidence wipe of the blemiſh of that reproach, with the ſame breath that it is caſt on.

Nay I can truly ſay, I am very well content to take this as a marke of honour from thoſe that ſent it, and as the recompence of former ſervices, as knowing a better reward is laid up for me in his hands, thorough the wiſedome of whoſe providence, this may be the means prepared to keep me unſpotted, and undefiled from the evills of *theſe back-ſliding times* unto the day of Chriſts appearance, which ſhall be my joy, when my enemies ſhall be aſhamed.

Nor can I but obſerve in this proceeding with me, how exactly thoſe that have made this Order do in this (as in many other things at this day) tread in the ſteps of the late king whoſe deſigne being (as is expreſt in the Remonſtrance of the ſtate of the Kingdome 15. *December* 1642.) to ſet the Government free from all reſtraint of Laws concerning our perſons and eſtates, and to render the *Monarchy* abſolute, did think he could have no better means to effect it, than to caſt into obloquie and diſgrace, all thoſe that deſired to preſerve the Laws and Liberties of the Nation, and to maintain Religion in the power of it, under the names of *Puritans*, *factious* and *ſeditious perſons*, as well knowing that the light of their principles and practices, were like to ſtand moſt in the way of bringing to paſſe ſuch an evill deſigne.

And truly it is with no ſmall grief, at this time to be lamented, that the *evill, and wrecked principles of the miſgovernment*, which the King then aymed to worke out his deſigne by, but could not effect, ſhould now revive, and ſpring up ſo evidently in the hands of *men* profeſſing godlineſſe (to the great prophaning, and reproach of *Gods name*) and arrived at maturity in practice, which former times abhorred to thinke of, and the deſigners themſelves with all their pollicy and power could never reach.

This appearing but with too much evidence in my conſcience, when

the present Governours held themselves obliged to call the people of these three Nations unto a day of publique humiliation, and to invite to the giving in of Light and conviction, with a free and open profession of a ready subjection of mind thereunto, was a chief motive that induced me to prepare my *Witness*, as I did, which being asked for from me by one of the *Councill*, I delivered in writing and it continued in their hands about a Months space, with out any prohibition to Print, & then was put to the Presse in the ordinary way of all other bookes, and had the usuall warrant for the comming forth, and nothing laid to its Charge ever since, till (for what reason of State I know not) it is now thought meet to be called *seditious*, and occasion is taken thereby to threaten me with *Bonds*, unto which I say the will of the Lord be done; through whose supporting grace I am made not carefull in this matter, and therefore have been willing (without any circumlocution or advantage I might have taken) to own with all readines that *Witness* for which the Lord hath given me a heart most freely to suffer whatsoever he shall call me unto, in the faithfull discharge of a good conscience therein. And this being said (as is needfull in my own vindication) my Answer to the *Paper*, that ordereth me to stand committed, unlesse I will give security by Bond, *&c.* and so by my own voluntary Act, do that which may blemish and render suspect my *innocency*, and the *justice* and *Good* of the *Cause* I suffer for; is this, That my purpose is God willing, to give no such Bond, but rather expose my self to the commitment mentioned; although I must ingeniously profess, I neither know, nor acknowledge the Authority, which those that have made the Order, do exercise over me in this *Case*: Nor do I conceive their Votes and Orders have a binding force by the Lawes of the Nation. This is my Answer to the Paper I received from you, which I desire may be accordingly presented to their view, that ordered my Commitment; my intentions being to make use of the little time of liberty, which is remaining to my own dispose for the visiting of my near Relations in *Kent* where I shall be sure to be heard of, and however do propound to my self not above a weeks stay, before my return again to my House in the *Strand*, so subscribes

Henry Vane

A true Coppy of the first warrant. *To* Edward Dendy *Esq. Serjant at Armes attending the Councill, or to his Deputies and every of them.*

WHereas upon consideration of a seditious Book written and published by Sir *Hen. Vane* Knight, Entituled *An Healing Question Propounded and Resolved*, &c. tending to the disturbance of the Present Government and the peace of the Common-wealth. It was Ordered by his Highnesse and the Councill on the 21. of *August* last, that if he should not give good security in 5000 pounds Bond by Twesday then next coming, to do nothing to the prejudice of this present Government, or of the peace of the Common-wealth, he should stand Committed. And whereas he hath not given security according to the tenor of that Order, but refuseth to do the same. These are therefore to will and require you forthwith to apprehend, and take into your charge, the body of the said Sir *Henery Vane*, and him to convey in safe custody to the Isle of *Wight*, and there to deliver him to the Governour of that Island, or to his Deputy, to be by him disposed of according to the Order of his Highnesse and the Councill. Hereof you are not to fail: And for so doing this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Given at White-hall *this* 4. *day of* September 1656.

Signed in the Name and by Order of his Highnesse and the Councill
Henry Lawrence *President.*

A Coppy of the Warrant to the Governour of the Isle of *Wight* or his Deputy.

Whereas upon consideration of a seditious Book written and published by Sir Henry Vane *Knight, entituled an* Healing Question Propounded and Resolved *&c. tending to the disturbance of the present Government and the peace of the Commonwealth. It was Ordered by his Highnesse, and the Councill on the* 21. *of Aug. last That if he should not give good security in* 5000*l. Bond by twesday then next coming, to do nothing to the prejudice of the present Government. or of peace of the Commonwealth, he should stand Comitted. And whereas he hath not given security according to the tenor of that Order, but refuses to do the same. These are therefore to will and require you, to receive into your Charge from the Bearer hereof, the body of the said* Sir Henry Vane, *and him to secure, and keep in safe custody in such place within the Isle of* Wight *under your Command, as you shall judge most convenient, not suffering him to speak with any person during*

his abode there, but in the presence of some Officer, and to continue him there under custody till you shall receive other Order; whereof you are not to faile. And for so doing this shall be your Warrant.

Given at White-hall this fourth day of September, 1656.

Signed in the name and by Order of his Highnesse and the Council, *Hen. Lawrence*, Pr.

Here followes the TESTIMONY of Sir *HENRY VANE* *delivered in writing by his own hands.*

My Lord,

HAving something in my mind to speak by way of more peculiar *addresse* and concernment to your Lordship than the rest of your company, I have chosen to do it by these *lines*, as the Testimony which upon this occasion I desire to speak before your own conscience in the sight of God.

The Scripture saith, he that will save his life shall loose it, and he that will loose his life for Christs sake and the Gospell (in faithfull witnesse bearing) shall save it; This Word of the Lord is in especiall manner fulfilling amongst the Saints and people of God at this day, whom the Lord is bringing very eminently upon the stage of tryall and sufferings, and that not onely from open enemies, that sin in a declared prophane spirit, but from equalls and friends that have gone into the House of God in company, and taken sweet counsell together in all their concern's, but yet come at last to hate their Brethren, and cast them out under a pretence of Zeal and glorifying God therein.

And to come a little nearer the Case in hand, this great Truth is hastening a pace to be made good in those principles, that spirit, and course of action your Lordship is found in, and in those which the Lord enables me to own and professe, and is bringing me through his rich grace in some weak measure, to the practice of, which are to cleave to what is right and good, though power be on the other side to oppose it.

The Message which in former times you sent me, is in my *Memory still*, it was immediately after the Lord had appeared with you against Duke *Hamiltons* Army, when you bid a Friend of mine, tell your Brother

Vane

Vane (for ſo you then thought fit to call me) that you were as much unſatisfied with his paſſive and ſuffering principles, as he was with your active; and indeed I muſt crave leave to make you this Reply at this time, that I am as little ſatisfied with your active, and *ſelf-eſtabliſhing Principles*, in the lively colours wherein daily they ſhew themſelves, as you are or can be with my *paſſive Ones*, and am willing in thi, to joyn iſſue with you, and to begg of the Lord to judge between us and to give the deciſion according to *truth and righteouſneſſe*.

And having named *Truth* and *Righteouſneſſe*, ſurely it may but too truly be ſaid, that amongſt us remains nothing but the *Name*, the power and life thereof ſeems to be ceaſed from our land, and is baniſhed from the ſocieties of moſt men; Yet my Lord, it is that whereby the actions and practice of all men are to be ruled, as well of Governors as of the governed. Governours themſelves are neither to be, nor make themſelves more then what in truth and righteouſnes they are and ought to be: When they ſwerve from this rule, they become ſinners and muſt look by tranſgreſſion to fall, as well as the loweſt of the People.

That which in truth of fact you were, is viſible enough to every eye, that is to ſay, under the Legiſlative Authority of the People Repreſenſented in Parliament, duly choſen and rightly conſtituted: you and the Force under your command are the Nations ſtrength, and formed military Power, kept up by a derived Authority from them, at a ſettled Pay to be imployed for the Nations uſe and ſervice, and theirs onely; and over this Military body you are by them placed as the head.

This then is the Power, which duly and properly you are, and more than this, I am not ſatisfied in my Conſcience is in Truth and Righteouſneſſe, appertaining unto you; to uſe this power lawfully, is your honour, your duty, your ſafety, as well as their well-fare, and preſervation, for whom it was raiſed, and is ſtill pay'd. To uſe this unlawfully as evidently you doe, when you go about to aſſume and eſtabliſh to your ſelfe the Power of your head, and at beſt will but allow them but to ſhare with you in their known Right to the Legiſlative Authority, unto your whom your ſelf, and the Army under your Command acknowledged the whole to be due, when as a ſcale ſet to this their Authority, they cauſed juſtice to be done upon the late King; you then become like that one ſinner, which *Eccleſ.* 9. 19 is ſaid to deſtroy much good, and do forget that wiſdome which teaches, and reſtrains from ſuch unlawfull uſe of force and ſtrength, is better then weapons of war mannaged never ſo ſucceſſefully in a way of deſtroying that which

which is right and good, whatever worldly gain and advantage in o-ther respects to be obtained thereby.

And although your own Conscience cannot but consent to the truth of what is here told you, in the name and fear of the Lord, yet being strong and trusting to the power of your sword, which is Flesh and not Spirit, it man and not God, your heart is lifted up, if you speedily re-pent not, unto your destruction; for you are not able to bear the re-proofs of the Lord, nor the faithfull witnesse and advice of his Saints and people that in love and true friendship disswade you from going on in this way, as foreseeing and foretelling your ruine and destruction there-in: And the fears they have, that you will not ruine alone, forasmuch as their outward safety & welfare is so very far included in yours.

Nor doth the Witnesse of the Saints which they bear against you rest here; but it is too evident to those of them, that have a spirit of discer-ning, that in reference as well to Christ your heavenly head, as to the good people of this Nation in Parliament Assembled, and rightly Constituted who were, and ought to be your earthly Head; you lift up your heel, and harden your self every day more than other, in a fixed Resolution not to become subject, as is your duty, nor to hold and keep your self in your due station alloted to you in the Body; but are ayming at the Throne in spirituals as well as Temporals; and to set up your self in a capacity of not holding your head either in the one consideration or the other.

And if this evill be in you at the bottome, be assured the Lord will speedily lay it open as before the Sun, and none of the webbs you are weaving will prove garments to cover your nakednesse; neither will your agreements or covenants with death stand; even those politick contrivances and conjunctions with those that are the enemies, whether open or secret, against the Spirit of life, and the workings and manifestations thereof, in the suffering Saints and annointed ones of the Lord Jesus, whom the Lord is about to own for his wisedome in the midst of the Earth, unto which excellent Spirit that shall be found in those holy ones of the Lord, not only this Nations wisdome in their very supream Assembly, but the Ruling powers of the whole world shall yield subjection, and think it their glory to become sub-servient to the bringing forth of the new Heavens and that new Earth, wherein dwells righteousnesse and truth; this is the foundation Stone, Elect and precious, which through faith is seen to be laid already in our Sion at this day, which those that believe, and make not hast, shall

arrive

arrive to the experience of, and ſhall diſcerne that this Stone is in cutting out amongſt us without hands, to its becoming a great Mountain, and filling the whole Earth.

Take then in good part before it be too late, this faithfull warning and following advice of an ancient friend, but is now thought fit to be uſed and dealt with as an Enemy.

Break off timely your ſinnes by repentance, do judgement, execute juſtice, and walk humbly before the Lord; yea, rent your hearts and not your garments, for thoſe are the faſts the Lord hath choſen; break every yoak, and let the oppreſſed go free; in one word, proceed no further in lifting up your ſelf againſt the Lord of Heaven, but inſtead of cauſing the veſſells of his houſe, even his moſt precious Saints to be brought before you (as you do daily) for to exerciſe publique ſcorn and tryumph over them, ſee that your true intereſt lies with them and in them, as well now as heretofore, and endeavour to recover their hearts to you, and their prayers for you, leaſt your God in whoſe hands your breath is, and whoſe are all your waies, whom you have not cared to glorify as you ought) ſhould ariſe ſuddenly and teare you in pieces, by the *immediate* ſtroak of his *own vengeance*, and there be none to deliver, even ſuch of you who live in pleaſure on the Earth, and have been *wanton*, and nouriſhed your ſelves as in a day of ſlaughter, who have condemned, and in your hearts killed the *juſt One*, and he doth not reſiſt you; But behold the Judge ſtandeth at the door.

FINIS.

24

A Letter from a Perſon in the Countrey to his friend in the City: giving his judgement upon a Book entituled *A healing Queſtion.*

Sir,

I Have received your Letter, with the printed Paper in it entituled *A Healing Queſtion propounded & Reſolved, &c.* & your commands with it to give you my poor ſenſe upon it: In obſervance of which I preſent you this, which if it much exceede the limits of a Letter, I have only this to ſay, that 'tis in obedience to your orders; and that the guilt thereof is contracted alone againſt him who is the occaſion of it; for I write not for any mans ſight but yours.

I have indeed peruſed it, and I may ſay not without ſome propenſity and byas to the Authours deſign, becauſe of its carrying with it, as I heard, the approbation and conſent of ſome honeſt men. I think truly there is as much ſaid in it as the Argument can well bear, yet not ſo much but may be well anſwered, and if not by me, yet by ſome other who may have better time and abilities for ſuch a work: But if in telling you my thoughts upon the whole, I leap from one page over the Heads of many others, it is not done by deſigne, but by neceſſity, the matter being ſo diſpoſed of by our Author that I could not avoid it. In his third Page he mentions two Generals from which all his other particulars are derived; and thoſe are, to uſe his own words, *The Honeſt Peoples juſt natural Right in Civil things, and true Freedome in matters of Conſcience.* I ſhall beg your and our Authors pardon if I tranſpoſe his Order, and give things of the firſt concernment the firſt place, by which I am tyed to proceed to anſwer that Head under this Title, *of true Freedome in matters of conſcience:* which he hath defined, and given Reaſons for, from the latter end

26.

of his 5. page, to near the middle of the 8. But therein I doubt twil be found, that he to be ſure to binde up the Magiſtrate, hath ſet at liberty all others.

I ſhall willingly agree with him, That in things of the neareſt, and Higheſt concernment, all poſſible tenderneſſe ought to be exerciſed by the Magiſtrate. But I muſt beg this excuſe if I cannot think that in things of that nature he is wholly excluded. He may ſin in two extreames; In not doing, and in overdoing; And me thinks, even what our Authour himſelf ſayes, *That the Nations of the world have Right and Title by the Purchaſe of Chriſts blood to Freedom in Spirituals*; doth at leaſt evince, That none have right thereunto, which do not own him, by whom only they can have that right, & therefore were all others exempted from that power; ſuch are not. Who ſhall puniſh blaſphemers or deniers of him that bought them? (A hereſie branded by the Spirit it ſelfe by the name of damnable.) Churches, as ſuch, cannot do it adequately to the Crime, ſince the higheſt of their actings is to ſeparation or excommunication; and what puniſhment is it for him that believes there is no God or Chriſt, to be excluded from his publique Worſhip, and ordinances? hath God taken care that his Glorious Name ſhould not be blaſphemed, from the beginning till Chriſts time, and afterwards doth not regard it to the end of the world? nor is it competent to ſay that in the new Teſtament we read of no ſuch power exerciſed by any Chriſtians as Magiſtrates: ſince it is evident that after ſome yeares that the Lord Chriſt was come in the fleſh, there were no Magiſtrates which were Chriſtians; but ſince any have been, it hath been both the duty and care of the good from time to time, by puniſhing, to beare their teſtimonies againſt ſuch evills, yea even when wickednesſes have aſſumed the names of religion; for Satan can transform himſelfe into an Angel of light, a truth too evident and ſad in our dayes to be denied by any.

I ſhall ingenuouſly confeſſe to you (Sir) I begin to ſuſpect thoſe moſt which in ſoul concernments do cry for liberty moſt; the Biſhops, how bitterly did they inveigh againſt the inquiſitors? and how ſoone, and exactly, when they got the power, became they ſuch? the Presbyterians whom the Lord made the rod to whip thoſe, you ſee how our Authour whips them with the names of perſecutors, towards the cloſe of his 7 page, and from them flies to the next ſort of Clergie (I wiſh his quarrell be not

to

to thoſe of that calling) for he ends there, when, alas, too many others are even perſecuting thoſe Clergie as far as they can, that is, with their tongues, and if not puniſhed and deterred by the Magiſtrate, would queſtionleſſe do it with their Hands alſo; for 'tis, as to the puniſhing of others, a ſhort and eaſie ſtep from declaring the guilt to acting of its penalty. I have truly my ſelfe heard ſome averr, that they eſteemed it a religious duty to call ſuch as we owne to be Miniſters of the Goſpel, hirelings, dumbe dogs, *Baals* Prieſts, and ſellers of the gifts of the holy Spirit; where note by the way, theſe franticks confeſſe theſe ſaid Miniſters they ſo miſcall, have the gifts of the holy Spirit; elſe they could not make merchandize of them; for they cannot ſell what they have not; nay they are either ſo ignorant or malicious as to allow them the beſt gift, to accuſe them for imploying it the worſt way, but if they have it, Ile enſure their accuſers they cannot ſo diſpoſe of it; now I would gladly know where but from the Magiſtrate ſhall ſuch oppreſſed be relieved? ſince from ſuch people themſelves, we cannot hope they will puniſh any of their owne number, had they any diſcipline amongſt them; becauſe that which is their fault, is a part of their religion: but it may be ſaid that this is a cleare acted evill, and therefore cognoſcible by the Magiſtrate. I ſay ſo too; but thoſe which are guilty of it will deny it, and alleadge ſome internall dictate or impulſe carried them to do it, and therefore 'tis a part of their worſhip, to act what the Magiſtrate and others think a part of their duty to puniſh. If it be ſaid they are miſtaken; I deſire to know who are competent judges therein; and they will anſwer in our Authors owne words, *p.* 6. about the midſt of it; *Why ſhouldeſt thou ſet at nought thy brother in matters of his faith, and conſcience, and therin intrude into the proper office of Chriſt ſince we are all to ſtand before his Judgment ſeat, whether Governours, or governed, and by his diciſion only are capable of being declared with certainty to be in the right or in the wrong*, ſo that if you puniſh or reſtrain ſuch people, you deny, according to what our Authour ſayes, that right which the Nations of the world are intitled unto by the Purchaſe of Chriſts blood; and if you do not, you tye up the ſheep of the flock, whilſt you let looſe the Wolves, & while you cry up liberty, you allow & authorize perſecution; I ſay perſecution, though it be only of the tongue; and how ſore a one that is, the Spirit doth in divers places, witneſſe, *Job* 5, 2. it is

called the scourge of the tongue. *Psal.*57. 4. The tongue is called a sharp sword. And to pass by a cloud of other witnesses in this behalf, *Jer.* 18. 18. it is said by the ungodly there, which conspired against the Prophet, *Let us smite him with the tongue*; which evinces this sort of persecution is not only known to be one by the bad, but felt as such by the good; nay, *Michael* the Arch-Angel, *Jude.* 9 verse, though contending with the Divell, durst not bring against him any rayling accusation; and totally to stop the mouths of such persecutors, and to manifest whilst they raile they cannot pretend religion for it, see what *James* saith, *Chap.*1. 26. *verse. If any man seem to be religious among st you, and bridle not his tongue, that mans religion is vain.* A cleare and Fertile Scripture, & such as we have as much cause to credit is Christs sentence in that case, as if we had heard him pronounce it; so that we need not doubt herein, or leave that to his finall Sentence in Heaven, which he by his Spirit hath given us so explicitely on earth: we may as well if any Blaspheme God, or deny the most Essentiall Fundamentals in Religion, leave that also till the last Judgement to determine with certainty whether such a man be therein in the right or in the wrong, as leave such men only to such decision; wee have nothing more for this than we have for that, therefore I fear the *Latitude* our Authour proposes will be so far from weaning the people from that Biting, devouring, wrathfull spirit he mentions, that it will but provoke and allow it. It is safer for authority to bridle Men than for men to bridle themselves; else why are there lawes established in civil, or discipline in spirituall things? such avowed Principles, as genuinely, and naturally tend to the destruction of Society and government are not to be tolerated in any, though assumed under the specious and high pretence of Religion, which is so far from being destructive to either that it is the best and strongest foundation and Cement of both. Who should have suppresst those frantick s of Munster but the Magistrate? should their plea of conscience have tied up his hands? and would any (but of their number) have had him let them murther as many as they would or could, and have stayed till the Last day to have had it judged with certainty whether their murdrings by their pretended religion had been right or wrong? Or should any in these dayes assume their principles could any think the Magistrate

without

without Breach of Truſt and duty could waite patiently till they were acted? I am certain if it would be too ſoone for him to do any thing before, then it might be too late for him to do it afterwards; how if a growing ſociety of men ſhould own as a Scripture truth that none have title to be governours, but the ſaints (though truth it ſelfe hath told us, that the Kingdome of the King of the Saints is not of this world, & that having food and raiment only, wee ſhould therewithall be content) and that none are ſaints but themſelves; every Magiſtrate therefore that is not of that feather, muſt be either excluded, or be judge over his brothers conſcience; who hath ſo complexed, and inter-woven things of government, and things of conſcience, that none can ſeparate the one from the other, nor be a judge in one, but in both.

I ſhall, Sir, willingly and clearely agree, that in opinions of religion, though their profeſſors differ from the truth in the judgement of the Magiſtrate, yet if they are ſo innocent as to be prejudiciall in their act or in their direct conſequence unto none but thoſe which imbrace them, all poſſible gentleneſſe, and forbearance ought to be exerciſed towards ſuch; and it is a Duty to endeavour their reſtoring in the ſpirit of meeknеſſe, conſidering leſt we alſo be tempted; but I beſeech you (Sir) obſerve how our Authour deſignes that the liberty he mentions, ſhould not be infringed, viz. *Even by laying a reſtraint therein upon the ſupreame Power before it be erected, and this as a fundamentall conſtitution amongſt others, upon which the free conſent of the people is given to have their Perſons brought into the exerciſe of the ſupream Authority over them, and on their behalf, as it is expreſſed, towards the middle of the 7th. P.g.* By which, methinks, it is evident that our Authour would have no ſupreame Authority ſet up till they are tyed to that which would make them merit to be pulled down; & I muſt plainly confeſſe, I know not who thoſe can be (according to his grounds) which can lay a reſtraint upon the ſupreame Authority, either before or after its erection; For it muſt be either by a part of the good people, or by all; it cannot be by all; for the reſtraint muſt be laid before all be met in a capacity to act, and it is an act to lay a Reſtraint; and if by a part, by what right can they lay reſtraints upon the whole? that were to doe what the Authour moſt complaines of; how ever I will make uſe

of

of this paſſage in this ſeventh page, to reply to a part of his thirteen page, wherein he laments, and earneſtly asks, *why ſo refined a party of men are not inſtructed with their right?* which queſtion I will anſwer with another, if they are not capable and fit to be inſtructed with their rights, why doth he complain that they are not? and if they are, why would he denie them, and fetter them in the things of the nobleſt concerment, or doubt their honeſty, if this particular be not their right, that they would declare ſo much, ſince it is in a matter ſo evident and cleare as he alleadges this is.

But that you may ſee whether this refined party did fight for that Liberty he mentions, obſerve I beſeech you what they did either in their defuſive capacity, or as repreſented in or by their Parliament, in which moſt properly they ſpeak and act.

As to the firſt, you ſhal have our Authors own words & obſervation to cleare it, which alſo he accompanies with this expreſſion, *that it is a thing will not ſuddenly be out of memory, viz. when the laſt King made war againſt the Scots, he was deſerted by all the good people of England; whereby it is evident, thoſe which he calls perſecuting Presbyters*, were owned as good men by the good people; and whether thoſe do allow of his freedome is as cleare by the title he gives them of perſecutors. As to the ſecond, I appeale to his owne conſcience, whether he doth not know, and believe that the people repreſented in the long Parliament, (and I think he will owne none other ſince which have acted, to be a true repreſentative) had not begun to eſtabliſh, and would not have continued that diſcipline in Church affaires which he cals Perſecuting: ſo that as yet whatever hath been declared by the people diffuſively or collectedly, hath been contradictory to our Authours liberty. And poſſibly this may be the cauſe why, though he cries them up for ſo refined a party and fit to be truſted, yet that in this particular he would binde up their hands abſolutely & not truſt them at all, I wil hope our Authour is not popiſhly inclined, becauſe of his expreſſions in the latter end of his ſeventh Page (*viz.*) *That by what be propoſed a great part of the outward exerciſe of antichriſtian Tyranny and Bondage would be plucked up by the roots.* Yet permit me to ſay, if his notion be practiſed, he hath left as free a latitude for the exerciſe of the profeſſion of the Papiſts, as for the profeſſion of the Truth, and this I am confident

fident the Honeſt party of this Nation never did deſign; and if our Author does, he had need truly to ſhackle and manacle their Repreſentative before they ſit, ſince they will never doe that to themſelves after they ſit. But that you may ſee how little cauſe our Author hath to be offended in this particular, read but the 36, 37, and 38. Articles of the Government, wherein ſo large a latitude is allowed in matters of conſcience, that I think no man hath reaſon to repine that he hath not enough. I wiſh ſome good men do not think, if any cauſe of complaint be, it be not on the other hand. But if our Author will not credit the Government, I deſire but that he will credit himſelf, to evince the truth of what I aſſert; For in the upper part of his eight Page he makes uſe of theſe very words, *That therein (viz. true Freedome in matters of Conſcience) the preſent Governours have been willing very eminently to give their teſtimony in their publique Declarations; ſo that what grievance is found amongſt us therein, is in probability more from the officiouſneſs of ſubordinate Miniſters than otherwiſe.* Our Author not condiſcending to ſet down either wherein ſuch ſubordinate Miniſters have been too officious, or the perſons who have been ſo, methinks evidences that any cauſe of grievance therein is rather pretended than acted; For if any ſuch really and actually had been, tis not likely they had remain'd uncomplained of, ſince thereby one of theſe two Ends had been attained, a *Redreſſe* of the ill, *or*, failing thereof, a clear Diſcovery that ſuch Declarations and Laws were only intended to delude and not protect ſuch tender conſciences; either of which carry in them too much cauſe of ſatisfaction or complaint to have been uneſſayed, had there been grounds for it: And tis very improbable that our Governours ſhould make Lawes not to obſerve them, whereby they muſt not only have been found guilty of Hypocriſie, but alſo by ſleighting their own Rules in ſome caſes have invited the people to have done the like in many, if not in all others.

Having thus *(Sir)* expreſſed unto you my poor apprehenſions concerning this one General relating to *true Freedome in matters of conſcience*; I ſhall proceed to the other, which is, *the Peoples juſt Right in civil things*, which our Author makes chiefly, if not only, to conſiſt in enjoying the Freedome to ſet up meet perſons in the place of ſupreme judicature and authority amongſt them; In which I believe, things being throughly examined, there will

remain

remain as little cauſe of complaint as in the former; For in that particular the government hath been ſignally and juſtly careful to provide, as may appeare from the ſixth to the twenty-fifth Article of it, by which we are more ſafe therein than ever we yet were, and poſſibly as ſafe as the nature and quality of ſuch a thing can well admit: But perhaps our Author is not ſatisfied that any which have been againſt us, ſhould be reſtored, after three Triennial Parliaments, to a capacity of being elected, or of becomming electors of Members in ſucceeding Repreſentatives: If that be the quarrel (as ſome of his expreſſions ſeem to inferr) I ſhall deſire him to read but his own words about the midſt of his ſeventeenth Page, wherein he ſaies; *If as the Foundation of all, the Soveraignty be acknowledged to reſide originally in the whole Body of adherents to this cauſe, whoſe natural and inherent Right thereunto is of a far antienter date than what is obtained by ſucceſs of their Armes, and ſo cannot be abrogated even by conqueſt it ſelf, if that were the caſe, &c.* Which words if true, methinks clearly prove, that our Governors have done thoſe people whom we through the providence of God have conquered, more wrong in debarring them ſo long, then the Good people in debarring them no longer; For if it be ſuch a natural and inherent Right that even conqueſt it ſelfe cannot abrogate it, how come they to loſe it? And if it be ſaid that none have a Right thereunto but by adhering to the Good cauſe, then our Author contradicts himſelfe, ſince he ſaies this Right is of a far antienter date than what is obtained by ſucceſſe and armes. But in my opinion the Wiſdome and Care of thoſe which compiled the Government, is ſignally evident in this particular; for ſo long our enemies are excluded as a competent time to wear out that heat and animoſity which they have contracted againſt their conquerours; As alſo to let them reliſh and throughly know the ſweet and benefit of this Government above that which they contended for; And poſſibly too, as a time for triall of their good behaviour, which tis likely they cannot counterfeit ſo many years: And they are excluded no longer, nor for ever, leſt it ſhould perpetually entaile thoſe Diviſions which in wiſdome and charity we ſhould endeavour to Heale and Cement. Beſides, our Author neere the latter end of his twentieth Page mentions, as a neceſſary thing, that when the ſupreme authority ſhould be convened, according to his device, one of their firſt Acts

ſhould

ſhould be to paſs an Act of Oblivion, which doubtleſs is not that our enemies ſhould forget they ever had a Right and Title to elect or be elected; Or if this be meant, I think all things elſe will appear rather a Name than a Thing.

But ſince that contraries being oppoſed, doe the better illuſtrate and ſet forth each other, let us take a proſpect of what our condition was before the war, and our now government, and what 'tis by it. The King was never bound to call a Parliament, at leaſt never did but when he could hardly avoid it: the Protector is tied to call a Parliament every third yeere, ſometimes oftner. The King when a Parliament was call'd, could or did at his pleaſure diſſolve it: the Protector when a Parliament is called, cannot diſſolve or prorogue it without its own conſent till five moneths be effluxt, a time competent to make or repeal Laws, and call to account and puniſh the great offenders, the true and proper ends of Parliament. The King had or aſſumed a Negative Voice to all Bills preſented to him by the Parliament; Or at leaſt denyed them with a French complement, *Le Roy S'aviſera*: The Protector hath but twenty dayes Deliberation, and then if not by common conſent altered, they paſs without him. The King in the intervals of Parliament was not yoaked with any council which had a Negative upon him: The Protector is. The King choſe all his Council: The Protector, excepting the now Council which could not be a avoided, in effect chooſes no more; but the people doe it in their Repreſentatives; for they nominate All that are to be choſen, though the Protector out of ſuch ſo nominated does at laſt chooſe; And for the Council that now are, what can Parliaments deſire more than if they Govern well to have the people enjoy the Benefit? It ill, themſelves to avoid the Blame, to act the redreſſe, and to impoſe the Puniſhment? Had a Parliament nominated the Council, they could have had but the ſatisfaction of their own opinions that the Council would have acted as they ought; and the opinion of an Aſſembly never made a man other than he is; But the Punitive power being ever in their Hands, they are as ſafe as a thing of that nature can admit; No authority can prevent a mans being evil, it can but puniſh him for his having been ſo. The King made all his great Officers in the three Nations without the Knowledge or Conſent of the Parliament: The Protector can make none without both. The King

commanded the *Militia*, abſolutely; and by our deſiring it from him, even when our Priſoner, we implicitely owned that right was in him; the Protector can doe nothing with the Militia, a Parliament ſetting without their conſent; and in their intervals without the councill, who are a kind of repreſentative of the people. The King not only as ſuch, but by vertue of the Laws had thereby ſo enſnared the conſciences of good men, that without being Rebels they could not ſhun being Martyrs if they continued in this Commonwealth: the Protector by the government hath taken off thoſe *Inquiſition-like* and ſevere Lawes, and not only doth admit but protects all ſuch as profeſſe faith, in God by Jeſus Chriſt, though differing in judgement from the doctrine, worſhip and diſcipline publiquely held forth, ſo that they abuſe not this liberty to the civill injury of others, nor to the actuall diſturbance of the publique peace, and do not under this profeſſion hold forth and practice licenciouſneſſe: provided that liberty extend not to Popery. A wholeſome proviſion which our Authors liberty hath quite left out or forgot.

Theſe, beſides many others, are the rich and high fruits of thoſe victories which the Lord in Mercy hath given his people, which are ſuch, that if any things are capable to compenſate the expence of ſo much time, treaſure, and precious blood, theſe are; and indeed wee ſeem hardly to want any thing but grateſull quiet ſpirits, under what we poſſeſſe. By all which it is evident, that the peoples juſt rights in civil things (which our Author makes chiefely, if not only to conſiſt in free national aſſemblies) are not only comprehended in the government, but ſo explicitely ſet down that he which runs may read, which makes mee hardly abſtaine from repining at any man that ſhall endeavour to looſe this knot, and caſt away our preſent certainties, only to try new experiments and concluſions; but poſſibly our Author wil not be ſatisfied, unleſſe things of a civil nature be left at as much uncertainty as thoſe of a ſpiritual; for towards the latter end of his 20 page, he hath *theſe expreſſions (viz.) the people repreſented in their higheſt ſtate of Soveraignty, as they have the Sword in their hands unſubjected unto the rules of civill government, but what themſelves aſſembled to that purpoſe do think fit to make.* By which he ſeems to inferre, that by our ſucceſſe we have

fought

fought our ſelves into nothing but what hereafter ſhall be eſtabliſhed. I thinke very few men when the war began, did engage in it upon that account, and for that end; for my part I did not, though in prayers, in counſel, in perſon, and in Purſe, I have been of it from the firſt day till this houre; the Parliament by their declaration ſtating the grounds of their taking up Armes, which invited all the good people thereunto, mentioned no ſuch thing; but on the contrary enumerated thoſe rights which were denied to them, and thoſe wrongs which had been obtruded on them; the firſt of which they ſought to obtaine, and the laſt to repaire and vindicate; and indeed to my poor capacity it would ſeem a kinde of enchantment, that things proſecuted ſhould be real & certaine when they were fought for, and ſhould turne into ſhadowes & notions when acquired by the defeat of him who denied them. It would doubtleſſe extenuate the crime of the common enemy in doing what they did, had they known we deſigned what our Author doth; no doubtleſſe, we had a known right to fight for before Armes were taken up, which by victoriouſly defending, and regaining we have not loſt; but perhaps ſome may ſay, our Author aſcribes this boundleſs power to what the people duely aſſembled in their Repreſentatives may act; but I finde what he ſpeakes is not of what they may doe, as an effect of their Authority, but what is done as an effect of Conqueſt.

Our Author proſecutes his treatiſe in telling us firſt the qualifications of the perſons which have adhered to this cauſe; ſecondly, the capacity wherein they have been found from time to time carrying it on. As to the firſt, he ſayes, *they have conſtantly ſhewed their forwardneſſe in it, in Purſe, Perſon, or counſell as the cauſe is truly ſtated in the two branches thereof, already ſpoken unto*, as it is more largely expreſſed from the midſt of his 8 page, to the midſt of his 9 page; only I am to obſerve that one marke of their qualifications, hath been that in order to thoſe ends, they have ſtood by the Army in defence and ſupport thereof, againſt all oppoſition whatever; that is, not only againſt the common enemy, but againſt the Parliament it ſelfe, firſt, when one of its two eſtates did not their duty, and alſo when the other failed in theirs. And the Author doth give you an excellent reaſon for their having ſo done, (viz) *As thoſe that by the growing light of theſe times have been taught & led forth in their experi-*

ences to look above and beyond the Letter, Form and outward Circumſtances of Government, into the outward Reaſon and Spirit thereof, therein only to fix and terminate, to the leaving behind all empty ſhadowes that would obtrude themſelves into the place of true Freedome. Which words are expreſſ'd about the midſt of his ninth page; And I believe are ſet down by him, not only to juſtifie what is paſt, but to authorize what may be acted in the future; for if it be allowable in preceding times, it may in parallel or reſembling caſes be allowed in times to come; And what a gap or rather breach this would open for all confuſions and diſorders, is ſo cleare, that to ſpend any time in illuſtrating of it were to make it ſeem leſs evident than it is. Doubtleſs (Sir) we of the Army had a better Warrant for what we did than this aſſertion of His; And if breach of poſitive engagements on the one ſide, and of an invincible neceſſity on the other, could or did ever authorize ſuch procedure as ours, we ſhall have no more cauſe to bluſh in owning it than I hope we ſhall ever have again to repeat it. But I ſhall not inſiſt upon this point, becauſe I write only for, and to a Perſon, that I know hath no doubts in it.

I will now return to obſerve what conſiſtency there is between my Authors expreſſions in his foregoing words of the ninth Page, and his ſubſequent ones in the tenth; In which, having erected his ſupreme judicature, he tels us; *unto the wiſdome of their Laws and Orders the ſword is to become moſt entirely ſubject and ſubſervient, and this without the leaſt cauſe of jealouſie or unſafety to the ſtanding Army, or the Good People adhering to this Cauſe.* But ſuppoſe that the Army or a part of the Good people ſhould diſlike the actings of their ſupreme judicature, (as what hath once been, may rationally be thought may be again) and this upon the account (as they may alledge) of the growing Light of theſe times; And how far it may grow before it ceaſeth God only knowes, ſince even in a few years time it hath been Bright enough to ſhew *Some* (as our Author would have it) how to look above the letter, forme, and outward circumſtances of Government into the inward Reaſon and Spirit thereof, and to make ſome individuals better and more competent Judges of all theſe, than thoſe which even thoſe ſelf ſame individuals had impowered to judge and act for them; Nay, than ſuch as all the whole Nation had Authoriſed for the like ends; Our Author in ſuch a Caſe either muſt

not

not allow this Latitude to ſome particulars above the whole, and thereby exclude them from the benefit of this extraordinary growing Light, which once was wiſely and happily made uſe of; and therefore may the better be truſted unto to Act againe by; Or muſt allow it them; and then that ſubjection and ſubſerviency mentioned by him, vaniſhes by his own confeſſion into Aire, and with it not only the form but eſſence of all Government. He muſt I doubt extinguiſh this new growing Light ere he calls his ſuprem judicature; or elſe it will grow neer to extinguiſh them.

But indeed our Author in the ſame ninth Page when he comes to acquaint us with the capacity wherein theſe perſons qualified as aforeſaid have acted, He tels us very ingenuouſly; [*That it hath been very ſeldome if ever at all ſo exactly and in all points conſonant to the Rules of former Laws and conſtitutions of Government as to be clearly and fully juſtified by them any longer than the Law of ſucceſſe and Conqueſt did uphold them who had the inward warrant of juſtice and righteouſneſſe to encourage them in ſuch their actings.*] What this inward warrant is cannot with more difficulty be made out than if allowed at all, eaſily pleaded and aſſumed by any as well as the Good people: But ſince ſuch inviſible warrants may be indifferently pretended by Both, 'twil be wiſedome to leave no Riſe for their being pretended unto by either; which, God be praiſed, our now Government hath done.

In our Authors 16. and 17*th* pages He does much complaine that any Party ſhould ingroſs and aſſume to themſelves the office of Soveraign Rule and Power, and impoſe themſelves as the competent judges of the ſafety and good of the whole, without their free and due Conſent, Adding; *That this is that Anarchy which is the firſt ſtep and riſe to Tyranny, and layes the Grounds of manifeſt confuſion and diſorder, expoſing the Ruling Power to the next hand that on the next opportunity can lay hold on the ſword. &c.* But he will doe well to Remember that he hath not only already allowed this, but commended it; And how if hereafter a part of the whole again ſhould have an inward warrant to pretend the like, will not he permit ſuch to try by the Law of ſucceſs and Conqueſt to uphold that inward warrant of juſtice and righteouſneſs which encourages them in ſuch their actings? twil be hard to commend this in ſome, and condemn it in others; Nay twill ſeem unjuſt not to permit thoſe which have the principle it

ſelf,

ſelfe, to try to act that, which only can, and, which if it ſucced ſufficiently will (as our Author ſayes) juſtifie it.

But indeed it is harder for us of the Army to have our Caſe thus egregiouſly miſtated, though we muſt confeſs we are very much obliged to our Author, who having ſo wrongly ſet it down, does yet excuſe us in it, nay does extoll that in us, which he himſelfe ſayes will be the way to Anarchy, confuſion and Tyranny in all others.

If our Author be not a Souldier, ſure he hath a mind to be one; for he tels us in the midſt of his tenth page, *That the Military intereſt and capacity is the intereſt & capacity of the whole Body of the good people, & that in that poſture they are moſt properly ſoveraign, and poſſeſs their Right of Natural ſoveraignty.* For my part, I ſhall clearly confeſs I do not underſtand that there is, or ever was originally a natural ſoveraignty in any Society; For no Society is by nature, but by pact or agreement; and till ſuch pact or agreement, every individual was naturally in a ſtate of War, like *Iſhmael* whoſe hand was againſt every one, and every ones hand againſt him, which wild and unſafe ſoveraignty all men being ſenſible of, laid it down upon agreed on conditions, by which all were obliged to help each other in the defence of their common Bargain; So that no Body of People have ſoveraignty by nature but by pact; And we have doubtleſſe a better and more firme Right than this natural one which our Author mentions; I mean a Legal Right, to which all have ſubjected themſelves explicitely, and by which no evaſions are left for Diſobedience, at leaſt fewer than in that natural Right our Author mentions, which poſſibly never was, nor ever will be defined in all the particulars and branches of it. But if our Author be not already a Souldier, I think it will be beſt to keep him from being one. For he that talks of the Army's Continuing as long as the good People, which he clearly does in the latter end of his tenth page, wherein he mentions *Their continuing every one with their Army*, is not fit to be of it; for I verily believe there are few, if any, amongſt us (at leaſt known or avowed) but are more troubled there is cauſe to keepe up the Army, than they would be that there were none, and they forthwith disbanded. But before I proceed farther, permit me I beſeech you to obſerve one expreſſion more in the ſame page, (viz) *The good peoples Army raiſed by them*, wherein

wherein he doth ſure allude to what ſhould be if his Utopia tooke place; & conſequently that a new Army ſhould be raiſed; or elſe why is it ſaid raiſed by them? Continued by them, had been more ſignificant & clear, if his ſenſe had not been ſuch as I underſtand it to be; and indeed all his expreſſions are ſo full of ſtrength and light in what he doth ſet down, that this expreſſion makes me the more confident I have hit upon his intentions in thoſe his words, which if I have, many genuine Inferences may be thereby collected, which may well manifeſt the deſigne our Author drives at, but indeed are too voluminous for a Letter.

But I cannot omit one paſſage of his in his 11. page towards the midſt of it, (viz) *The Army putting themſelves with their fellow Adherents to the cauſe under the Rule and Authority of their own ſupream Judicature, they loſe not their Power or ſoveraignty; but by becomming one civil or Politique incorporation with the whole party of honeſt men they doe keep the ſoveraignty, as originally ſeated in themſelves, and part with it only but as by deputation, and repreſentation of themſelves when it is brought into an orderly way of exerciſe, by being put into the hands of Perſons choſen and intruſted by themſelves to that purpoſe.*

By which words he would infuſe into the people, that the Army believe they have acquired the ſoveraignty over all; which, if true, might juſtly render us worthy of the hatred even of our friends and brethren; nay by his words he not only makes us enſlavers of the people in this age, but may poſſibly make us the like in ages to come; for if the original right is in us as the Army, and we part with it but by deputation, we may as well recall our right from thoſe to whom we ſhall depute it. Whereby the Army ſhall become indeed the ſupreame Authority, and as our Author hath deſigned it, the Army ſhall alwaies be.

We are, the Lord knows, but too ill of our ſelves, and need no ſuch Painters, who through deſigne, or ignorance, draw us worſe than through mercy we are, or I truſt ever ſhall be; he ſayes, we are lovely in thoſe clothes he hath Clad us with, but makes all others to be monſters which ſhall weare the like. Having now I hope evinced unto you, that by the government we are now through providence under, the people enjoy true freedome in matters of conſcience & their juſt right in civil things, & thoſe to be conveyed to them by their Repreſentatives duely choſen

ſen, and not fettered or manacled, as our Author would have them, I ſhall now proceed to what remaines.

He tells us in his firſt and 2 pages, That this cauſe hath ſtill the ſame goodneſſe in it as ever, and is as much as ever in the Hearts of the good people who have adhered unto it; that it is not leſſe to be valued now, than when neither blood, nor treaſure were thought too dear to carry it on; that the perſons engaged in it, are ſtil the ſame as before, with the advantage of being more tryed, more inured to danger & hardſhip, &c. All which being granted, methinks, doth clearely infer that the good people, by their continuing quiet, do evidently confeſſe they have got what they chiefly contended for; or that what remaines unacquired, is not worthy to be ſolicited by engaging in new warres, or hazarding what through mercy they now poſſeſs; poſſibly we have not all we aimed at, and poſſibly it is well for us as well as others that we have not. There are many things men would endeavour to obtain, when a war is made, which they wil not make a war to obtain; beſides it is likely we are but too poſitive in not acquieſcing in any thing ſhort of all we drove at, which may have juſtly provoked the Lord to have denied us our hearts wiſh, that we might have more of dependency upon his good wil, & leſs of eſtimation for our own deſigns & reſolutions.

Our Authour tels us that *if a ſupreame repreſentative, were conſtituted as aforeſaid, hardly afterwards any new thing would ſtick, as to the forme of adminiſtration, and deſcends to a ſtanding councill of ſtate ſettled for life, whoſe orders ſhould be binding in the intervalls of national aſſemblies as far as they were conſonant to the ſettled Lawes; the vacancy or death of any of which to be ſupplied by the vote of the Major part of themſelves* (but herein the people are more beholding to the government, than to our Authour; for by it, the people in their Repreſentatives, chooſe ſuch councellors, and do not permit them to chooſe themſelves, which if allowed, might entaile both them & Faction, upon the people) Nay he continues) *would there be any juſt exception to be taken, if it ſhould be agreed as another part of the fundamentall conſtitution of the government, to place the branch of ſoveraignty, which chiefly reſpects the execution of the Lawes, in the hands of one ſingle Perſon, and for the greater ſtrength and honour unto this office, that the execution of all Lawes and orders, that are binding, may goe forth in his name, and all diſobedience thereunto, and contempt thereof, be taken as done to the peo-*

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ples ſoveraignty; whereof he bears the Image or repreſentation &c. And then again in the ſame 18 page. *Would ſuch an office as this, thus ſtated, carry in it any inconſiſtency, with a free ſtate? Nay, if it be well conſidered, would it not be found of excellent uſe, to the well-being of Magiſtracy, founded upon this righteous bottome, that ſuch a Lieuetenancy of the peoples ſoveraignty, in theſe three Nations, may alwaies reſide, in ſome one, or ſome more perſons, in whoſe adminiſtration that which is reward and puniſhment, may ſhine forth.*

By all which, Sir, you may evidently perceive he is ſo far from being againſt thoſe main hinges and Pillars upon which our Government moves, and by which it is ſupported, that he gives pregnant and ſtrong arguments for them; only he would have the people doe it, and I ſay they have done it already, even in the choice of their laſt Parliament, and in the Parliament it ſelfe; nay, I dare averre that never any Government in the three Nations, was more fully and explicitely owned by the people, than this now in exerciſe hath been; neither ever yet was any forme of Government more clearly expoſed to the peoples judgements, nor received by them than this hath been. I am certain that Commonwealth was not, which we ſo lately have extricated our ſelves out of, and which poſſibly our Author may not be undeſirous to have us revert unto; for that mutation was made only by the remnant of a Repreſentative, in which too many of the people had none to ſpeake or act for them: But this forme of Government we now are under (*viz.*) by a ſingle perſon and a Parliament, was ſent down into every Shire and County of the Nations, that none (except enemies and people not worth 200. *l.*) might pretend ignorance, or be denied his opinion and vote; and upon ſuch proofe and tryal, the people not only embraced it, but even tied every individual of their Repreſentative not to alter it. But our Author may ſay, that indenture by which they did ſo, was ſent down to them to ſign; and I ſay, but it was ſigned by them; the Government did but offer the condition, but 'twas the people did accept it; Our Author may farther ſay, 'twas a few of the people did ſo; to which I anſwer, that either thoſe which did it were the greater or the leſſer number of the people; If the leſſer, how comes it about the greater did not oppoſe it? if the greater, the objection ceaſes. If all are ſummon'd, and all doe not appear, thoſe which do are to be reputed as all; elſe no election could be made or eſteemed valid.

Our Author ſpeaks of a generall Councill or Convention to be called

by the preſent power, but conſidered as general, which Convention, though choſen by the Body of all the Adherents *to this Cauſe, are not yet to exerciſe their Legiſlative power, but only to debate freely and agree upon the particulars that by way of fundamental conſtitutions ſhall be laid and inviolably obſerved as the condition upon which the Body ſo repreſented doth caſt it ſelf into a Civil and Politique Incorporation, &c.* as is more at large ſet down in his 20th *page.* I beſeech you Sir take notice of theſe words [*the Body of all the Adherents to this Cauſe*] without taking care (as anciently) that none but freeholders ſhould chooſe or be choſen in Shires; or as our Government hath now well provided, that none ſhall chooſe or be choſen, but perſons worth 200*l.* that is, men who probably by their ſubſtance have not only ſome competent degree of underſtanding who to chooſe, but alſo ſome intereſt and cauſe to chooſe well, as having purſes which are likely and capable to feel it, if they do otherwiſe: By which wild Latitude (if allowed) we might come to have as odle work in things of a civil concernment, as our propoſed liberty in ſpirituals is like to leave us in, in ſoul concernments. Indeed a civil Authority ſo choſen is likelier to introduce ſuch dangerous liberties, than a Repreſentative choſen either by the old or the new rules

But though I muſt commend our Author, who having propoſed the end, ſets up the readieſt way to attain it; yet I more commend our Government which hath ſo well provided againſt our great Repreſentative's being in a capacity to be choſen by the Refuſe of the people, or to be compoſed of them

Having made this (I think) needful digreſſion, I ſhall now beg your leave (Sir) to ſpeak a few words both to *the thing propounded, and to the manner of acting it: To the thing,* It is to be an aſſembly to agree upon fundamentals of Government; which were in effect to do leſs well for the people then the Government hath already done; for there is no queſtion if 'twere practicable for all the people of the three Nations to tranſact their own buſineſs by themſelves without Repreſentatives, it would be more clear and ſatisfactory for them to do it in that way than in the other; And though the people do chooſe thoſe people for their Repreſentatives which they moſt truſt in, yet they truſt more in themſelves than in ſuch ſo choſen: Beſides it often ſo falls out, that many of the people are unavoidably Repreſented by perſons whom they have not choſen; nay, againſt whoſe choiſe they have actually declared, as is evident in the voices for Knights and Burgeſſes, where the

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majority of votes (though but in one) excludes all others that are voted for: Theſe being irrefutable truths, I cannot but commend the wiſedom and ingenuity of the Government, and the happineſs of the people, that an affair of this nature ſhould be ordered ſo advantagiouſly, that in the main form of the Government (*viz.*) whither it ſhould be by a ſingle perſon and a Parliament, they have not been left implicitely as our Author propoſes, to the ſenſe of their Repreſentatives, but have been made the clear and proper Judges thereof themſelves; by which it would be hard to tell, whither the people are more actually obliged in what the Government hath done; or intentionally diſobliged in what the Author propoſes. Let this model propoſed be but well conſidered, and let every reaſonable man be judge; our Author would have an aſſembly choſen by all the Honeſt Party, which ſhould agree upon fundamental conſtitutions of Government; which for ever after, the ſupream Legiſlative power ſhould be obliged unto, and ſhould not have power to alter. Doe but ſee in this what a weak thing all our Authors diſcourſe turns upon; Theſe fundamentals are to be agreed upon by the peoples Repreſentatives, and to oblige the ſupream Legiſlative power (which is to be the peoples Repreſentatives alſo) ſo, that the peoples Repreſentatives once met, are to oblige their Repreſentatives for ever after: which is a thing not only abſurd in it ſelf in the nature of it, but of the higheſt improbability in the practice of it; for who can dream that Repreſentatives of the people, when choſen and met, will ever hold themſelves obliged by any conſtitutions of former Repreſentations, farther then they ſhall according to time and circumſtance agree with their liking? ſince they all ſtand upon one foot of power, as entruſted by the people; and the latter may as well, and by as good right alter conſtitutions and Laws agreed by the former, as the former could make ſuch: ſo that if our Author will truſt the peoples Repreſentatives at firſt to make fundamentals, by as good reaſon he may truſt them ever without any at all, ſince that the power and choice of obſerving or not obſerving thoſe fundamentals will alwayes reſt in themſelves, and this unavoidably ſo: Doubtleſs the beſt way to convince our Author, were, a liberty given him to put in practice his own new-framed Government; for then he would not fail to find and experiment that unreaſonableneſs and impracticability in it, which he doth not now ſee: Let but all matters of Government be left as *res ſatis tutas*, to all the Honeſt Party who have adhered to this good

Cauſe, and I believe, whither you reſpect them by themſelves or in their Repreſentatives, they will ſo little agree with any of our Authors principles, from the beginning to the end of his Booke, that I doubt he would *recurre* again to that growing light he ſpeakes of, to make but letter and forme of ſuch *conventions*, (as he ſeems formerly to have done) and find out ſome other way to juſtifie and bring about thoſe things he aimes at: Certainly our Author may deſign the overthrow of the preſent Government, by defacing and blemiſhing of it, but cannot intend the ſetting up of his own; he muſt needs know the force of his principles laid down (if they have any) is more offenſive to the preſent power, then any way defenſive to themſelves. I have read moſt Hiſtories, and do not remember that ever the like to this hath been practiſed; either thoſe in power in erecting of Governments wanted the ability to find out ſo happy an expedient, or the honeſty, if 'twas found out, to afford it to the people. Our paſt Kings indeed had a faint ſhew of ſomething like this; for at their Coronation, ſome few that aſſiſted at it, were demanded whither they would have the perſon to be Crowned to be their King: But the difference betwixt this and that is vaſtly great; for firſt, This was not to the forme of Government, but to the perſon which was to governe. Secondly, This was not to the people of the Nations, but to ſome deſignedly or accidentally there. Thirdly, (to omit many other differences) As they were not ſolemnly convened from all the Shires of the Nations, (neither indeed could be, or their mindes generally known but by that way the now Government hath practiſed) ſo neither was there any thing of their aſſents given either formally or legally. The contrary of all which is evidently to be found in the now forme of Government, which at once doth manifeſt the unwillingneſs of thoſe in power to ſet up any model of Government that the people in their largeſt capacity did not like, as alſo that the people did fully like this; both which are ſo ſignal and rare, that I beg your excuſe, if that beliefe hath made me dwell too long upon this particular.

The next thing is, as to the *Manner* of calling ſuch Conventions, It muſt be by the preſent power conſidered as a General; and then our Author ſayes, *What is done by it, is not in Danger ever to be broken, being made by the People in their Higheſt State of Soveraignty as they have the Sword in their hands, &c.* This Sir, I fear will be ſubject to many inconveniences; ſome I ſhall inſtance beſides thoſe I have ſet down already.

First,

First, it Authorizes a General, as a General, to Call a Parliament; and if once the Protector, as a General, does doe that, hereafter Generals ſucceſſively may pretend to the like priviledge, and ſo our Government become purely Military; To invite us to which, Our Author calls that, *The Peoples higheſt State of Soveraignty, in which they have their Swords in their Hands.* But poſſibly He may ſay, the now Protector as General did once already call a Parliament; to which I anſwer, He indeed Call'd an Aſſembly, but 'twas that Aſſembly Call'd themſelves a Parliament; Beſides, that was by his Call, not the peoples Election. Secondly, If ſuch a Convention were met, they might perhaps agree to have a Supreme Magiſtrate (which too our Author doubts not of) who by his Office ſhould call Parliaments, and the General (if ever the Generals and chiefe Magiſtrates Offices ſhould be diſtinct) by that precedent, might pretend to the like, by which we might have at once two Parliaments by two Authorities, both having ſpecious pretences for both, which might prove too fruitfull a ſeed for putting the people too often into their Higheſt State of Soveraignty.

Thirdly, Though the Protector could aſſume the Chiefe Magiſtracy of this Nation, yet he cannot Righteouſly relinquiſh it or the Government, it (to uſe our Authors own words in another Caſe) Declarations to men and Appeals and Vows to God ſignifie any thing.

Fourthly, It will be madneſſe in the Protector to annihilate that Government of himſelfe, which the People both by themſelves and their Repreſentative have ſo far approved, only to call a Convention to try if they can light upon a Government which the people may approve, which were no other in effect than to take the Authors Opinion in the behalf of the people rather than their own in their own Behalfe, and that too doubly Declared. Would not ſuch a proceeding make us Ridiculous both to our ſelves and the world, to be ſo often changing Foundations, eſpecially in this Caſe wherein ſo little of Advantage can either be enjoyed, or ſo much as hoped for? I cannot truly believe that our Author can rationally expect that thoſe in preſent Authority ſhould relinquiſh a Government which many Thouſands have explicitely owned and embraced, only to accept of a Propoſal which he alone does offer; If he will be but patient till he can bring as many clear proofes that his Notion is approved of by the People, As the Government can that it is ſo, it will be then

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a fitter time to Liſſen to him than Now; And till then it will be but juſt, that the ſenſe of the Major part of the good people conclude His or the Minors, And herein I hope the government doe obſerve the Royal Law.

I omit, *Sir*, Many other things, becauſe I cannot ſo much wrong my argument in doing ſo, as I might your patience in doing otherwiſe; but as our Authour hath had his conjecture, that nothing, as to a ſingle perſon, would ſtick in his propoſed convention; ſo give me leave to have my doubt, that, that it ſelfe would there ſtick, and if it ſhould, who then could put a period to a Repreſentative, if it endeavoured to perpetuate it ſelf as ſome ſuch thing I have heard, was in deſigne? And if the Protector had not plaid the Protector, before he was ſuch, it might have alſo been turn'd into a Act. *The people would then have had a good time to have complained to their Repreſentative againſt their Repreſentative*; and a worſe, if they had endeavoured to have righted themſelves by war, which yet would have been the only remedy. This thing alone doth, if nothing elſe did, ſufficiently evince the good and neceſſity of a ſingle perſon impowered, as the Protector is, by the government.

I ſhall agree with our Authour, that there is a high and viſible neceſſity for all the people that have hitherto embraced our common cauſe, to unite themſelves, were it only in point of ſecurity againſt a common enemy, who is not out of work though at preſent out of ſight (but I fear out of the Authors obſervation, by his propoſal) I would gladly deſire that the inclinations and propenſity thereunto were as ſtronge as the cauſes and incentives are; it were happy if all good men, eſpecially thoſe of ſuch ſignall and eminent parts, as he by his treatiſe ſeems to be Maſter of, would employ them to make the beſt of what is, rather than to perplex & blemiſh it, & thereby give opportunity to that common enemy, he may ſo juſtly apprehend, to think our diſſatisfactions many and great, & improve his own intereſt by ſuch knowledge.

I muſt crave his pardon if I cannot agree with him in what he mentions in his 22. Page, (viz.) *That for theſe three yeares laſt paſt, there hath been a great ſilence in Heaven, as if God were pleaſed to ſtand ſtill and be a Looker on.* I wiſh that what is his ſaying of Heaven, had been his own practice upon Earth; Many of our enemies then had been ignorant of that he accuſes the Government of, and I freed from the trouble of anſwering ſuch his Accuſation: I muſt clearly confeſs what he ſayes in that particular is ſo far from

from being, in my Apprehenſion, a truth, that it is a high miſtake. And poſſibly I might not erre in ſaying, that the provivdence of the Lord hath hardly been more active for good in ſome ages paſt, than in but a part of that time, in which he ſayes the Lord hath ſtood ſtill, and been but a looker on; to evince which, conſider I beſeech you, ere this government began, how unſettled & perplexed was our own nation? Scotland & Ireland, large parts of this Common-wealth, all in a flame; we engaged in a bloody war by ſea with the Dutch; the French, the Spaniards, the Portugal, the Swede, and the Dane at beſt no friend, if not actual enemies. But as ſoone as it was eſtabliſhed (wherein, they ſaw wee were come to a hopefull conſiſtency) as the firſt effects and fruits of it, part of them paid for their peace, and all the reſt implored it; Our Internall warres forthwith were quenched; ſo that in effect, when our enemies ſaw us become wiſe, they became ſo to; And the Terror of the Lord was upon all thoſe who before had ſought our Ruine, which might be an effect of his gracious promiſe, When a Mans wayes pleaſe the Lord he maketh even his Enemies to be at peace with him: If a Sparrow falls not without a Providence, doubtleſſe ſuch conſiderable Changes and Events are not ſignes that God hath ſtood ſtill and been a Looker on; but rather that they are the products of his care and tenderneſſe towards his people, who may provoke his higheſt Judgement by their ſo meanly eſteeming of his higheſt Mercies. 'Tis true indeed we are now engaged in the War with *Spain*; but it is as true that the Provocations and Cauſes of it were too Great any longer to protract it, which is ſo clearly ſet down in the printed ſtate of that War, as to receive ſatisfaction therein, one need but to Read that: tis confeſt that hitherto this War hath not proved ſo promiſing and ſucceſsful as many were confident it would, which I feare may have in part occaſioned it: But who ever obſerves the uſual Method of Gods Diſpenſations towards us, he will find even this it ſelfe is proportionate to moſt others: Our Loſſes in the beginning being but to try our Faith; And as this hath been parallel to many others in the firſt part of it, ſo I truſt it will be the like in its Concluſion and Event.

I am certaine it is not ſo conſiderable as only upon its own account to give the Author a Riſe to believe that God hath been pleaſed for three years laſt paſt to ſtand ſtill and be a Looker on; To which there is but one thing elſe that I can call to mind as a pretence to authorize this his Belief, and that is, the Protectors

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and the laſt Parliaments not Cloſing, which truly was a cauſe of ſadneſs to all Honeſt Hearts; but tis hoped that the unhappineſſe thereof will be by experience ſo ſet home upon all concerned, that it will the more ſtrongly incline affections to an union the next which is called, and therby though it did not prove our Bleſſing then, yet it may prove the cauſe of it in the future.

Our Author ſayes in his ninth Page, *One Mark or Qualification of the Good People was their ſtanding by the Army in maintaining of their Cauſe.* I wiſh that Mark and Qualification may yet continue, and as the Armies of the three Nations have by expreſſe Addreſſes fortified the hands of the Government by their owning and Declaring for it, ſo that our Author and All the other Honeſt People would fortifie their Hands alſo in doing the like, that as Union hath hitherto been the evincement of our good affections, ſo now that it might be of our wiſdome. Let our Author allow towards the ſettlement of this Government but ſome of that growing Light he commended in pulling down the former, and all may do well. Actions unconſonant to Laws and Conſtitutions of Government, are much more tolerable for building up peace than for Diſſolving it. Methinks it may ſerve to quiet the Mind of the Author and Others to Conſider that what we have is much more than we deſerve; and that by repining at having no more, we may provoke the Eyes of Gods Glory, and invite him to make us feel we have too much. Let us mend our inward Condition, and then our outward one will follow. *Let us ſeeke firſt the kingdome of God and his Righteouſneſs, and all ſuch things ſhall be added unto us.* If this Government be not of God, let man endeavour what he will to ſupport it, it will fall: And if it be of God, let man endeavour what he will to ſuppreſs it, and it will ſtand. Let us therefore with patience expect what Iſſue he will be pleaſed to give it; For God is the Judge, who in Governments as well as perſons, putteth down one and ſetteth up another. That good Advice, *Meddle not with thoſe which are given to Change*, is as pertinent for our Times as poſſibly for Any ſince 'twas firſt ſpoken. There is a Scripture much upon my Heart (and with that I ſhall Conclude) which containes, what every one is to doe; then what All are to expect, and what to avoid. *I will hear what God the Lord will ſpeake, he will ſpeake Peace unto his People and to his Saints; but let them not turn again to Folly*; which that They may not, is the earneſt and Hearty prayer of

June 14. 1656. *Yours in the Beſt and ſureſt Bond.*